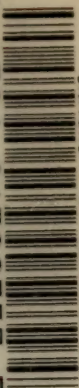



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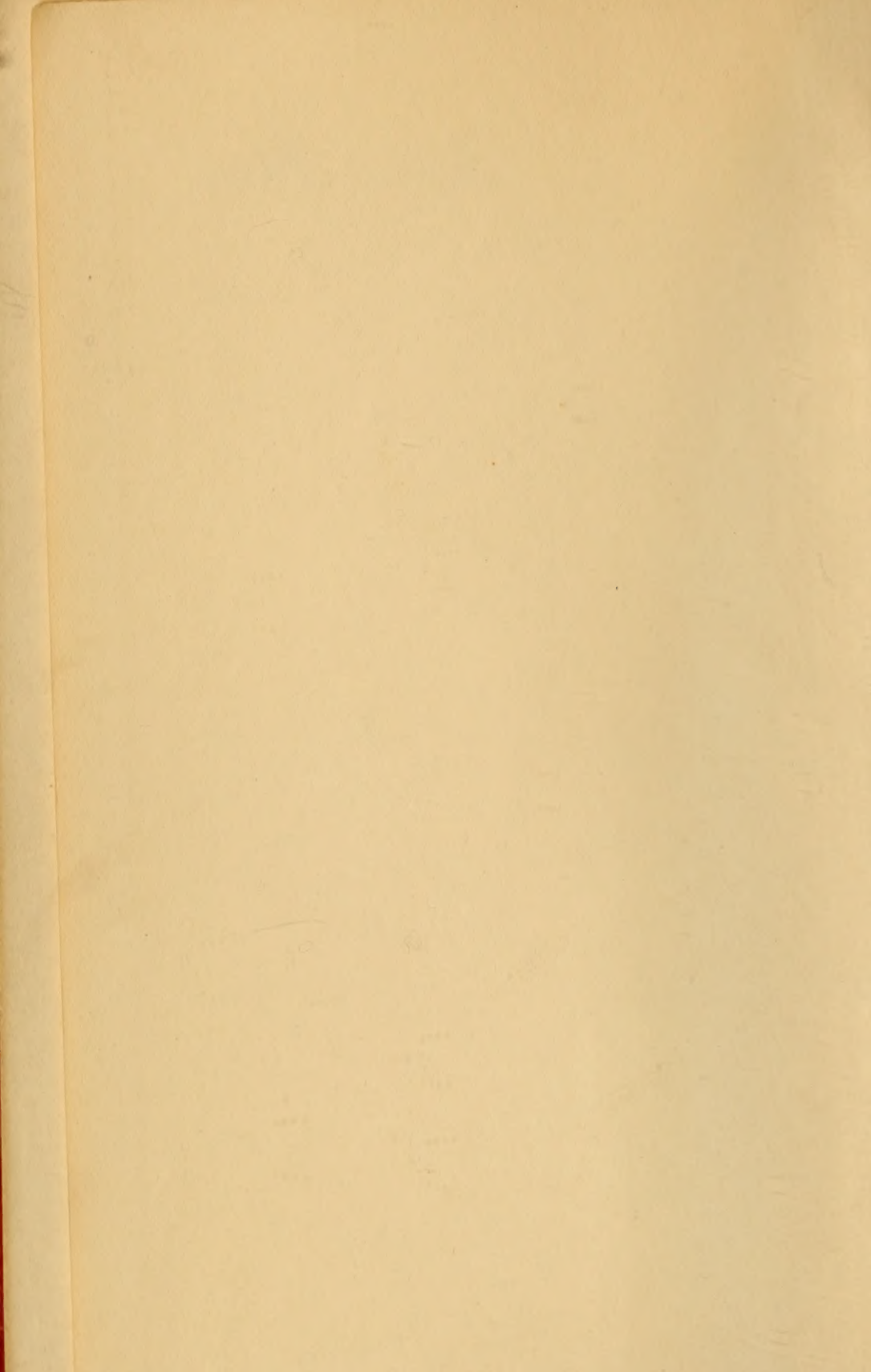
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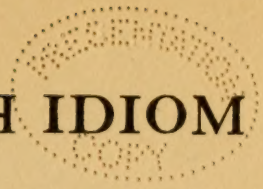
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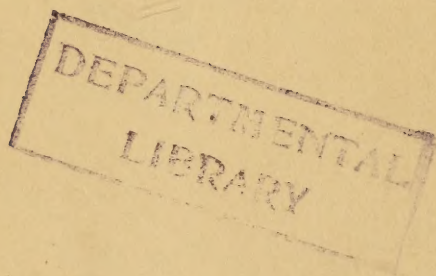
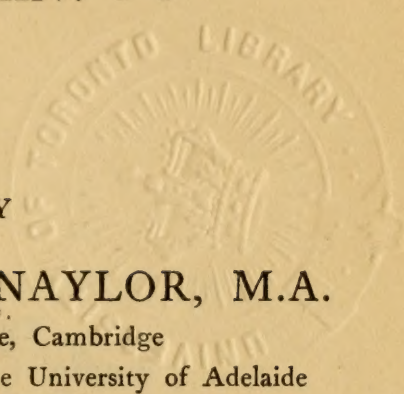
LIVY XXXIV. 1-8

BY

Henry
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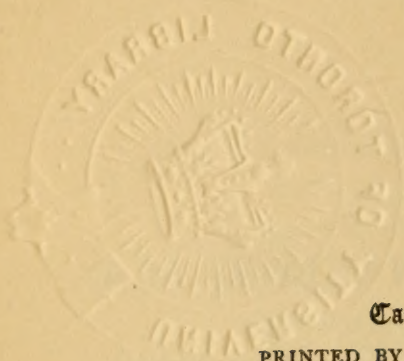
Trinity College, Cambridge

Professor of Classics in the University of Adelaide



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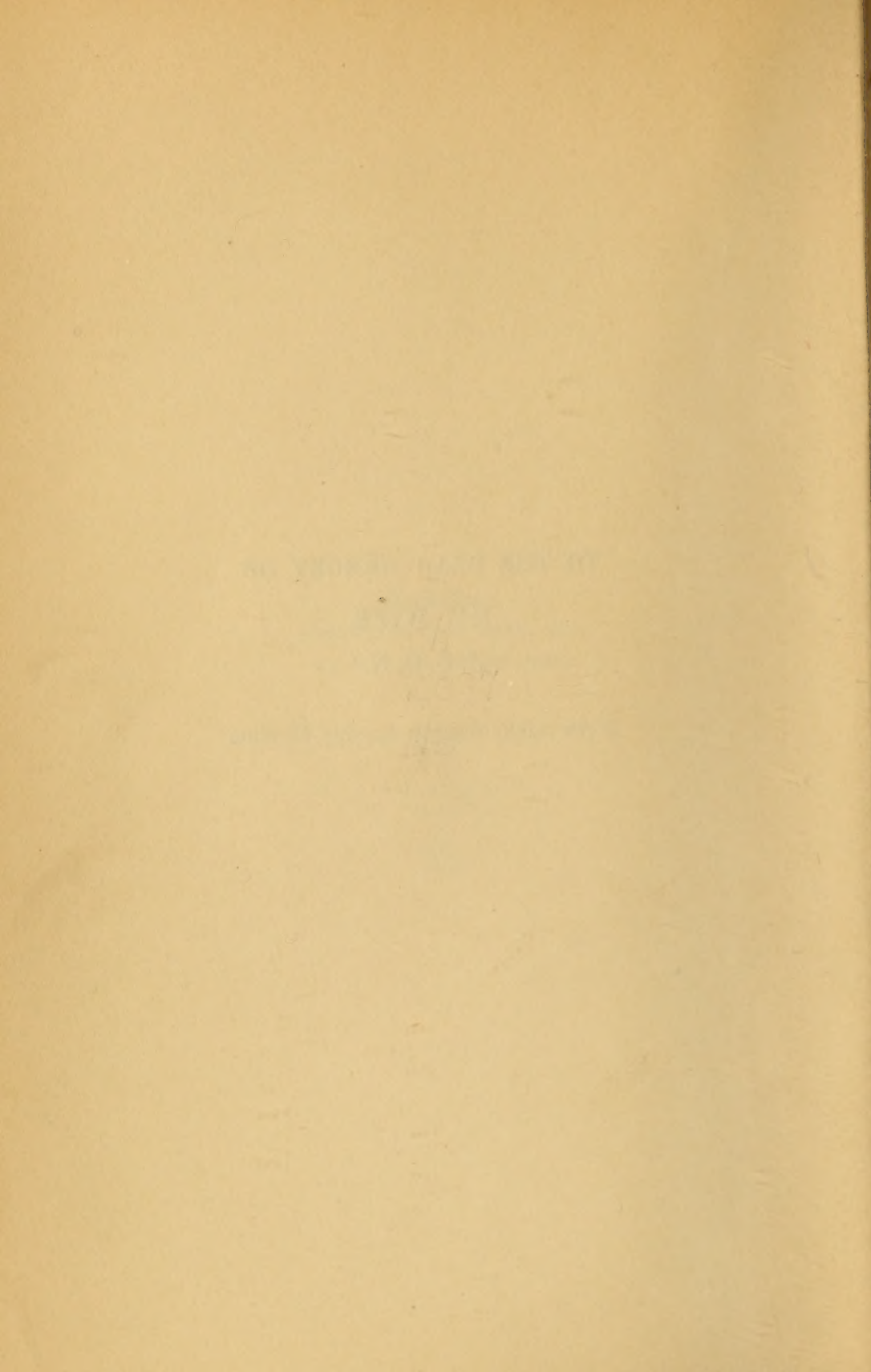
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TO THE DEAR MEMORY OF
MY WIFE
J. C. D. N.

Terra minus fragrat, suavius Elysium



PREFACE

A KINDLY critic of my *Latin and English Idiom* suggested in *The Classical Review* that I should turn my hand to Cicero. If I have not done that, I have at least turned my hand to Livy as a speech-writer.

These first eight chapters of Book XXXIV are peculiarly fitted for separate treatment. They deal with an episode which stands entirely by itself, and there is no need to wrench the setting in order to obtain the jewel. Then, again, they possess a special interest because in them we have two speeches, one in favour of, the other against a bill before Parliament. Finally Livy gives us a vivid picture of Cato inveighing against the Roman Suffragettes. It may then, perhaps, be said of my work that

“some modern touches here and there
Redeem it from the charge of nothingness.”

I have to thank for help of various kinds my friends Professor W. Mitchell, M.A., D.Sc., Mr D. H. Hollidge, M.A., and Mr R. J. M. Clucas, B.A.

H. D. N.

ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY,
December, 1914.

INTRODUCTION

THE VALUE OF ANCIENT LANGUAGES AND OF TRANSLATION INTO IDIOMATIC ENGLISH

THE educational value of great ancient languages is enhanced by, if it does not depend on, the fact that such languages differ from our own in methods of thought and expression. Thus comparisons have to be made continually, intelligence is quickened, and powers of observation are developed. That is why French and German (especially the former) can never be adequate substitutes for Latin and Greek.

The purpose of this book, as of my *Latin and English Idiom*, is to encourage detailed comparison of two fine languages. In spite of all that has been urged to the contrary, I am still of the opinion that, except from the few who possess a natural gift of imitation, continuous Latin Prose should not be demanded. In its place we should require a far higher standard of English translation, and should expect a candidate to explain why his English version is often so different in form from that of the original. If we give him Cicero to translate, he should be told to make his version sound like Burke, Bright, or Gladstone; if Livy, to make it sound like Prescott or Froude; and he should be asked, also, to justify any modernizations in which he may have indulged. For modernization or Anglicizing should be encouraged when the learner translates from the foreign language, just as Latinizing and Grecizing are encouraged in the reverse process.

LATIN ORDER

A less kindly critic of my *Latin and English Idiom* has said that I am like one who has just discovered the importance of Latin order. If indeed I have awakened to its importance, I ought to be thankful; for some Homers seem to be napping still. A well-known version of the *Aeneid* translates 7. 312

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo

by "if I cannot bend the gods, I will stir up Acheron." Apart from the unhappy picture which this version calls up—tin gods to bend, and mud to stir up—, can it be said that the magnificent antitheses of *flectere* and *movebo*, of *superos* and *Acheronta* (both crying out for notice because of the order) are represented at all? If distinguished scholars can thus miss the mark, what may we not expect of beginners¹? I remain, therefore, unrepentant and

¹ I relegate to a footnote two random examples of Conington's indifference to order from Vergil's *Georgicon* Book i.

(1) ll. 297-8

At rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur aestu

Et medio tostas aestu terit area fruges.

On *tostas* C. says "not to be joined with *aestu*." But, unless Latin order is a wild Chinese puzzle, *medio...aestu* must go with *tostas*. The ears, as a matter of fact, are parched by the midsummer heat, but they are also bruised in the midsummer heat (on the threshing-floor). The truth is that the ablative *medio...aestu* is first an instrumental ablative with *tostas* and then a temporal ablative with *terit*.

(2) ll. 316-21

Saepe ego cum flavis messorum induceret arvis

Agricola et fragili iam stringeret hordea culmo,

Omnia ventorum concurrere proelia vidi,

Quae gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis

Sublimem expulsam eruerent, ita turbine nigro

Ferret hiemps culmumque levem stipulasque volantes.

On l. 319 C. writes: "*late* with *eruerent*." But *late* can only go with *gravidam...segetem*, for it lies between them. Compare Livy 3. 2. 13 *multas*

repeat that learners should be taught to read Latin with emphasis on the words abnormally placed; and I venture, further, to repeat that departure from the normal order is what makes Latin *visually* so effective an instrument of expression.

English depends on intonation and stress, and the same words can bear quite different meaning according to the intonation or stress used in uttering them. To take a simple case: the words "I cannot walk there" may mean, according as we pronounce them, (1) *I* cannot walk there (but you can); (2) I *cannot* walk there (if I want to); (3) I cannot *walk* there (but I can ride); (4) I cannot walk *there* (but I can walk half the distance). Latin can show all the last three meanings by order: the first is expressed by inserting *ego*. Thus we get for (1) *ego eo ambulare non possum*; (2) *non possum eo ambulare*; (3) *ambulare eo non possum*; (4) *eo non possum ambulare*.

Often it is order which elucidates the interpretation of some doubtful word in poetry. Thus in Hor. *Od.* 2. 16. 21:

Scandit aeratas vitiosa puppes
Cura...

What does *vitiosa* mean? Those who watch Horace at work are aware how significant is his grouping together of epithets. Here things that are *aeratas* are the objects of something that is *vitiosa*. Then we remember that *vitium* may mean a flaw or

passim manus, 1. 21. 6 duo *deinceps* reges etc. (see my *Latin and English Idiom*, p. 15). The sense must be "gravidam lateque patentem segetem."

In ll. 316-7 there are two good instances of Vergil's pointed order, i.e. *flavis* and *fragili*. Both adjectives are prepositive and separated from their nouns. The fields are yellow *flavis* (not green) for the reaper; they are "white to the harvest"; the stalks are dry and brittle *fragili* (not soft and juicy) for cutting.

As to l. 320, may not the original reading have been *eruerent, ut turbine nigro*? The *ut* would easily drop out (...ENTVTTVRB...); then *ita* was introduced from a gloss on *ut* (i.e. *ut*=in such a way that) in order to make the line scan.

crack, and we not unfairly assume that *vitiosa* means full of (and, by an easy transition, producing) such cracks and flaws, until we arrive at the interpretation “cankering”—an interpretation which, I think, is admirably suited to the context. Thus *vitiosa* is merely more picturesque than *edax*—Care eats even into the bronze of ships, into the “hearts of oak.” But if I am right in my interpretation, Horace has interpreted for me by his happy juxtaposition of words.

And so in my commentary I shall continually draw attention to the order, because I am persuaded that, when Livy is writing at his best, every departure, however small, from normal order is of the highest importance, if we would understand the meaning aright.

I therefore conclude by giving the rules of *normal* order¹, viz.:

(a) Subject (1), object (2), verb (3), (sometimes we find these in the order (3), (2), (1)).

(b) Epithets of any kind (including the genitive case) immediately follow the word to which they belong, i.e. are “postpositive.”

(c) Adjectives of number and quantity, demonstrative pronouns, and adverbs immediately precede the words to which they belong, i.e. are “prepositive.”

(d) Coordinative and subordinative conjunctions, relative and interrogative pronouns or adverbs come first in their clause.

(e) A Latin sentence if *constructionally* complete must *ipso facto* be at an end.

¹ For details I refer the student to Professor Postgate's *Sermo Latinus*, pp. 35—45.

CHAPTER I

§ 1. Amid the anxieties caused by such serious wars either scarcely concluded or already threatening, there occurred an episode which, though trivial as narrative, occasioned so much feeling that it ended in a grave conflict. § 2. Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, plebeian tribunes, introduced before the Commons a proposal to repeal the Oppian law.

§ 3. This law had been passed on the motion of the tribune Gaius Oppius during the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius, when the excitement of the Punic war was at its height. It provided that a woman should possess not more than half an ounce of gold, and wear no dresses of iridescent colours. Women were also forbidden to ride in carriages either in the city or in towns or within a mile's radius of these, except for purposes of state religious ceremonial.

§ 4. Marcus and Publius Junius Brutus, tribunes of the

§ 1. Inter bellorum magnorum aut vixdum finitorum aut imminentium curas intercessit res parva dictu, sed quae studiis in magnum certamen excesserit. § 2. M. Fundanius et L. Valerius tribuni plebi ad plebem tulerunt de Oppia lege abroganda.

§ 3. tulerat eam C. Oppius tribunus plebis Q. Fabio, Ti. Sempronio consulibus, in medio ardore Punici belli, ne qua mulier plus semunciam auri haberet nec vestimento versicolori uteretur neu iuncto vehiculo in urbe oppidove aut propius inde mille passus nisi sacrorum publicorum causa veretur.

§ 4. M. et P. Iunii Bruti tribuni plebis legem Oppiam

plebs, championed the Oppian law, and asserted that they would not permit its repeal. In support or opposition came forward a large number of nobles, and the Capitol was filled with crowds of people upholding or condemning the measure.

§ 5. Deaf to the representations of their husbands, unmoved by respect for them or their bidding, married women could not be kept within doors. They besieged every road in the city and every approach to the forum, begging their husbands, as these descended thither, to remember the prosperity of the state, with the daily growth of all private fortunes, and to permit that their wives as well as themselves should have restored to them the adornments of the past. § 6. This concourse of the women increased day by day, as they gathered even from country towns and villages. § 7. And now they ventured to approach and solicit consuls, praetors, and other officials. But of the first, one at least, Marcus Porcius Cato, was found inexorable, and, in support of the law whose repeal was proposed, he delivered the following speech.

tuebantur nec eam se abrogari passuros aiebant ; ad suadendum dissuadendumque multi nobiles prodibant ; Capitolium turba hominum faventium adversantiumque legi complebatur.

§ 5. matronae nulla nec auctoritate nec verecundia nec imperio virorum contineri limine poterant, omnis vias urbis aditusque in forum obsidebant viros descendentes ad forum orantes, ut florente re publica, crescente in dies privata omnium fortuna, matronis quoque pristinum ornatum reddi paterentur. § 6. augebatur haec frequentia mulierum in dies ; nam etiam ex oppidis conciliabulisque conveniebant. § 7. iam et consules praetoresque et alios magistratus adire et rogare audebant ; ceterum minime exorabilem alterum utique consulem, M. Porcium Catonem, habebant, qui pro lege, quae abrogabatur, ita disseruit :

CHAPTER II

§ 1. "Gentlemen, if each of us in his relations with the mistress of his household had, from the beginning, retained the rights and prerogatives of a husband, we should now have less trouble with the other sex as a whole.

§ 2. Unfortunately in the home our liberties have been overthrown by undisciplined womanhood, and here also, in the forum, they are being trodden under foot. We have failed to curb individual women and therefore we tremble before them in the mass.

§ 3. For my own part, I always thought it a fabulous story that the whole male population in a certain island was once destroyed root and branch by a conspiracy among the women; § 4. but from every class and from both sexes we are in utmost danger, if cabals, meetings, and secret conclaves are permitted. Indeed I can scarcely decide in my own mind which is worse—the proposal itself, or the bad example set in carrying it into effect. § 5. Of the two, the latter concerns us, the consuls and other officials: the former rather concerns you, the burgesses of Rome. For whether the proposition before you conduces to the common weal

§ 1. "si in sua quisque nostrum matre familiae, Quirites, ius et maiestatem viri retinere instituisset, minus cum universis feminis negotii haberemus;

§ 2. nunc domi victa libertas nostra impotentia muliebri hic quoque in foro obteritur et calcatur, et, quia singulas non continuimus, universas horremus.

§ 3. equidem fabulam et fictam rem ducebam esse, virorum omne genus in aliqua insula coniuratione muliebri ab stirpe sublatum esse;

§ 4. ab nullo genere non summum periculum est, si coetus et concilia et secretas consultationes esse sinas. atque ego vix statuere apud animum meum possum, utrum peior ipsa res an peiore exemplo agatur; § 5. quorum alterum ad nos consules reliquosque magistratus, alterum ad vos, Quirites, magis pertinet. nam utrum e re publica sit necne id, quod ad vos fertur, vestra existimatio est, qui

or not, is a question for you to determine who are about to vote ; § 6. but this agitation by women, a spontaneous effort, it may be, or due to the influence of you, Marcus Fundanius, and you, Lucius Valerius (the blame for it, undoubtedly, rests on official shoulders)—this agitation is, I say, a disgrace ; whether a greater disgrace to you the tribunes, or to us the consuls, I do not know ; § 7. the shame is yours, if you have gone the length of bringing females here to excite tribunician disturbances : it is ours, if, like the plebs of old, the women are now to secede and dictate terms.

§ 8. Speaking for myself, it was not without a blush of shame that, a few moments ago, I made my way through a crowd of women into the forum. Had not respect for individual dignity and modesty (I had no respect for such females collectively) prevented me from letting them be seen scolded by a consul, I should have addressed them thus : § 9. ‘What sort of practice is this—running out into the public streets, besieging the highways, and accosting the husbands of others? Could not each of you have made this very request to your own lords and in the home? § 10. Or are you more fascinating in public than in private, more fascinating to

in suffragium ituri estis ; § 6. haec consternatio muliebris, sive sua sponte, sive auctoribus vobis, M. Fundani et L. Valeri, facta est, haud dubie ad culpam magistratuum pertinens, nescio, vobis tribuni, an consulibus magis sit deformis : § 7. vobis, si feminas ad concitandas tribunicias seditiones iam adduxistis ; nobis, si ut plebis quondam, sic nunc mulierum secessione leges accipiendae sunt.

§ 8. equidem non sine rubore quodam paulo ante per medium agmen mulierum in forum perveni. quod nisi me verecundia singularum magis maiestatis et pudoris quam universarum tenuisset, ne compellatae a consule viderentur, dixissem : § 9. ‘qui hic mos est in publicum procurrendi et obsidendi vias et viros alienos appellandi ? istud ipsum suos quaeque domi rogare non potuistis ? § 10. an blandiores in publico quam in

strangers than to your husbands? And yet, even in the home (if married women were restrained by modesty within the bounds of their due rights), it would have been seemly for you to care nothing what laws are passed or rejected in this place.'

§ 11. Our forefathers laid down that women should not transact any business, even of a private nature, without the authority of a guardian; they were to be under the control of parents, brother, or husband. But we, forsooth, allow them now actually to take part in politics, to appear in the forum, and to join in meetings and elections. § 12. For what are they doing, at this moment, in the streets and at the cross-roads, but supporting a proposal of the tribunes, and voting for the repeal of a law? § 13. Give free rein to a nature that knows no control, to a creature untamed, and hope that women, of themselves, will set a limit to extravagance of liberty. § 14. But unless *you* set such a limit, this is the least of the disabilities, imposed by custom or by law, under which women chafe. Liberty in all things, or rather, to speak plain truth, licence in all things, is what they desire.

privato et alienis quam vestris estis? quamquam ne domi quidem vos, si sui iuris finibus matronas contineret pudor, quae leges hic rogarentur abrogarentur, curare decuit.'

§ 11. maiores nostri nullam, ne privatam quidem rem agere feminas sine tutore auctore voluerunt, in manu esse parentium, fratrum, virorum; nos, si diis placet, iam etiam rem publicam capessere eas patimur et foro quoque et contionibus et comitiis immisceri. § 12. quid enim nunc aliud per vias et compita faciunt, quam rogationem tribunorum plebi suadent, quam legem abrogandam censent? § 13. date frenos impotenti naturae et indomito animali et sperate ipsas modum licentiae facturas; § 14. nisi vos facietis, minimum hoc eorum est, quae iniquo animo feminae sibi aut moribus aut legibus iniuncta patiuntur. omnium rerum libertatem, immo licentiam, si vere dicere volumus, desiderant

CHAPTER III

§ 1. And if they carry this position, they will stop at nothing. Review women's rights and all the limitations by which your forefathers curbed their wilfulness and through which they subjected them to their husbands; and yet, with all these restraints, you can scarcely keep them in check.

§ 2. Furthermore, if you suffer them to pluck and wrest from you privileges one by one, in the end allowing equality with men, think you that you will find them enduring? No, the instant they begin to be your equals, they will get the upper hand.

§ 3. But, we are told, they take exception to a new measure directed against them: not law but outrage on law is the object of their protest. § 4. Nay rather, they demand that you should repeal a measure which by your votes you have accepted and enacted, a measure which the use and experience of so many years have stamped with your approval; in fact, they ask you to abolish one law and so weaken all others. § 5. No enactment is acceptable to every citizen. The only question raised is: 'Does it benefit the majority? Is it, in the main, of advantage?' An individual may be privately offended by some

§ 1. quid enim, si hoc expugnauerint, non temptabunt? recensete omnia muliebria iura, quibus licentiam earum adligerint maiores vestri per quaeque subiecerint viris; quibus omnibus constrictas vix tamen continere potestis.

§ 2. quid? si carpere singula et extorquere et aequari ad extremum viris patiemini, tolerabiles vobis eas fore creditis? extemplo, simul pares esse coeperint, superiores erunt.

§ 3. at hercule ne quid novum in eas rogetur recusant, non ius sed iniuriam deprecantur; § 4. immo, ut, quam accepistis iussistis suffragiis vestris legem, quam usu tot annorum et experiendo comprobastis, hanc ut abrogetis, id est ut unam tollendo legem ceteras infirmetis. § 5. nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est; id modo quaeritur, si maiori parti et in summam prodest. si, quod cuique privatim officiet ius, id destruet

legislation : is he therefore to pull it down in ruins ? If so, what is the good of the community's passing laws which can so quickly be rescinded by those against whom they were directed ?

§ 6. I should like, however, to hear why it is that married women have rushed hysterically into the public streets, all but invading forum and assembly.

§ 7. Is it to redeem from Hannibal prisoners of war, fathers, husbands, children, and brothers ? Far is, and far for ever be, such a misfortune from our country ! Yet, when such a misfortune did come, you refused this boon to their prayers of love and patriotism.

§ 8. But perhaps it is not love or anxiety for their dear ones that has gathered them here ; it is religion : they are waiting to welcome the Holy Mother of Ida on Her way from Pessinus in Phrygia. No ? Then what honourable plea, honourable at least in word, is put forward to excuse this revolt of our women ? § 9. The reply comes : ' We wish to glitter in gold and purple, to ride in carriages every day, festival or no festival, to be carried through the city as if in triumph over a law vanquished and repealed, over your votes taken captive out of your hands. In fine, we ask that no limit should be set to extravagance and voluptuousness.'

ac demolietur, quid attinebit universos rogare leges, quas mox abrogare, in quos latae sunt, possint ?

§ 6. volo tamen audire, quid sit, propter quod matronae consternatae procucurrerint in publicum ac vix foro se et contione abstineant. § 7. ut captivi ab Hannibale redimantur parentes, viri, liberi, fratres earum ? procul abest absitque semper talis fortuna rei publicae ; sed tamen, cum fuit, negastis hoc piis precibus earum.

§ 8. at non pietas nec sollicitudo pro suis, sed religio congregavit eas : matrem Idaeam a Pessinunte ex Phrygia venientem accepturae sunt. quid honestum dictu saltem seditioni praetenditur muliebri ? § 9. 'ut auro et purpura fulgamus' inquit, 'ut carpentis festis profestisque diebus, velut triumphantes de lege victa et abrogata et captis et ereptis suffragiis vestris, per urbem vectemur ; ne ullus modus sumptibus, ne luxuriae sit.'

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. You have often heard me complain about the expenses of women, and of men no less, and those not only private citizens but state officials also ; § 2. you have often heard me say that two opposite vices, greed and luxury, are endangering the state, curses which have proved the ruin of all great empires. § 3. And this is what frightens me ; for the happier and more prosperous our country, and the greater the daily increase of our empire (already we have crossed into Greece and Asia Minor, both richly stored with every incentive to voluptuousness ; nay, our hands covet the treasures of eastern potentates)—the more do I dread the situation, and fear that our acquisitions have mastered us, not we them. § 4. Believe me, these art treasures have come from Syracuse like an invading army against our city. Too many, even now, I hear full of praise and admiration for the ornaments of Corinth and of Athens, full of mockery for the clay figures of Rome's gods on the temple pediments. § 5. But, for myself, I prefer these gods and their blessing, and I trust that they will grant it, if only we suffer them to remain in their old homes.

§ 1. saepe me quarentem de
feminarum, saepe de virorum nec
de privatorum modo sed etiam
magistratuum sumptibus audistis,
§ 2. diversisque duobus vitiis,
avaritia et luxuria, civitatem
laborare, quae pestes omnia magna
imperia everterunt. § 3. haec
ego, quo melior laetiorque in dies
fortuna rei publicae est imperium-
que crescit—et iam in Graeciam
Asiamque transcendimus omnibus
libidinum illecebris repletas et
regias etiam adtrectamus gazas—,
eo plus horreo, ne illae magis res
nos ceperint quam nos illas. § 4.
infesta, mihi credite, signa ab
Syracusis illata sunt huic urbi.
iam nimis multos audio Corinthi
et Athenarum ornamenta laudantis
mirantisque et antefixa fictilia
deorum Romanorum ridentis. § 5.
ego hos malo propitios deos et ita
spero futuros, si in suis manere
sedibus patiemur.

§ 6. Within the memory of our fathers, the envoy Cineas was employed by Pyrrhus in an attempt to bribe not only men, but women also. The Oppian law had not yet been passed to curb feminine luxuriousness; for all that, not one woman accepted a bribe.

§ 7. And what, think you, was the reason? The same reason which led our ancestors to make no legal provision in the matter: there existed no luxuriousness to be curbed. § 8. Just as we must diagnose the disease before we can know the remedy, so evil desires come into existence before the laws which are to limit them.

§ 9. What called forth the Licinian law, with its restriction of 500 acres, except inordinate passion for enlarging estates? What the Cincian law against gifts and presents, except that the plebs had now commenced to be the pensioners and dependents of the senate? § 10. Thus there is little reason to wonder that neither the Oppian law nor any other was wanted to limit the extravagances of women, when they refused to accept gold and purple, freely given, nay thrust upon them. § 11. But, to-day, had Cineas gone the round of the city with his bribes, he would have found women standing in the public streets to receive them.

§ 6. patrum nostrorum memoria per legatum Cineam Pyrrhus non virorum modo sed etiam mulierum animos donis temptavit. nondum lex Oppia ad coercendam luxuriam muliebrem lata erat; tamen nulla accepit. § 7. quam

causam fuisse censetis? eadem fuit, quae maioribus nostris nihil de hac re lege sanciundi; nulla erat luxuria, quae coerceretur.

§ 8. sicut ante morbos necesse est cognitos esse quam remedia earum, sic cupiditates prius natae sunt quam leges, quae iis modum facerent. § 9. quid legem Liciniam excitavit de quingentis iugeribus nisi ingens cupido agros continuandi? quid legem Cinciam de donis et muneribus, nisi quia vectigalis iam et stipendiaria plebs esse senatui coeperat? § 10. itaque minime mirum est nec Oppiam nec aliam ullam tum legem desideratam esse, quae modum sumptibus mulierum faceret, cum aurum et purpuram data et oblata ultro non accipiebant. § 11. si nunc cum illis donis Cineas urbem circumiret, stantis in publico invenisset, quae acciperent.

§ 12. Indeed for some desires *I* cannot find even the ground or the motive. Granting that the denial of what is lawful for one's neighbour brings with it some perhaps not unnatural feeling of shame or vexation, still, when fashions are the same for all, wherein need each one of you ladies fear to be made conspicuous?

§ 13. The lowest shame is shame of thrift or humble circumstances; but the law takes from you both forms of shame, when you do not possess that which it is unlawful to have.

§ 14. 'But,' says our wealthy lady, 'it is just this equality that I cannot endure. Why may I not attract attention by a blaze of purple and gold? Why should the poor circumstances of other women find concealment under this pretext of a law, making it seem that what they cannot afford they might have had but for legislation?'

§ 15. Gentlemen, do you wish such rivalry to be instilled in your wives as will cause the rich to desire only what no one else of their sex can have, and the poor, fearing contempt on this very ground, to overstrain their means?

§ 16. Assuredly, so soon as *they* feel shame where shame should not exist, they will cease to feel it where it should. The woman who possesses the means will get her

§ 12. *atque ego nonnullarum cupiditatum ne causam quidem aut rationem inire possum. nam ut, quod alii liceat, tibi non licere aliquid fortasse naturalis aut pudoris aut indignationis habeat, sic aequato omnium cultu quid unaquaeque vestrum veretur ne in se conspiciatur?* § 13. *pessimus quidem pudor est vel parsimoniae vel paupertatis; sed utrumque lex vobis dedit, cum id quod habere non licet, non habetis.*

§ 14. 'hanc' inquit 'ipsam exaequationem non fero' illa locuples. 'cur non insignis auro et purpura conspicior? cur paupertas aliarum sub hac legis specie latet, ut, quod habere non possunt, habiturae, si liceret, fuisse videantur?'

§ 15. *vultis hoc certamen uxoribus vestris inicere, Quirites, ut divites id habere velint, quod nulla alia possit; pauperes, ne ob hoc ipsum contemnantur, supra vires se extendant?* § 16. *ne eas simul pudere, quod non oportet, coeperit, quod oportet, non pudebit. quae*

desire, the woman who does not will ask her husband. § 17. Unhappy man, whether he yield to her prayers or not! What he does not give himself, he will see given by another. § 18. Even now they frequently solicit the husbands of others, and, what is more, they ask for a measure and for votes, and get them, too, in certain quarters. But it is to the detriment of yourself, Sir, your property, and your children, that you are compliant; once let the law cease to limit the expenses of your wife, and *you* will never succeed in doing it.

§ 19. Do not imagine, gentlemen, that the position will be the same as it was before the law was passed to deal with it. It is less dangerous for a bad man to escape trial than to be acquitted; and luxury unawaked would have been more tolerable than it will be now, —maddened, like some wild beast, by its very chains, and then let loose.

§ 20. I therefore move that the Oppian law by no means be repealed; but whatever course you adopt, may the blessing of every god rest upon it!"

de suo poterit, parabit, quae non poterit, virum rogabit. § 17. miserum illum virum, et qui exoratus et qui non exoratus erit, cum, quod ipse non dederit, datum ab alio videbit. § 18. nunc vulgo alienos viros rogant et, quod maius est, legem et suffragia rogant et a quibusdam impetrant. adversus te et rem tuam et liberos tuos exorabilis es; simul lex modum sumptibus uxoris tuae facere desierit, tu numquam facies.

§ 19. nolite eodem loco existimare, Quirites, futuram rem, quo fuit, antequam lex de hoc ferretur. et hominem improbum non accusari tutius est quam absolvi, et luxuria non mota tolerabilior esset, quam erit nunc, ipsis vinculis, sicut ferae bestiae, irritata, deinde emissa.

§ 20. ego nullo modo abrogandam legem Oppiam censeo; vos quod faxitis, deos omnis fortunare velim."

CHAPTER V

§ 1. After this speech those plebeian tribunes who had promised their intervention added a few words to the same purport. Then Lucius Valerius addressed the assembly in support of the bill which he himself had brought forward.

"If," he said, "private members only had risen to speak for or against the measure before us, I, for my part, feeling that enough had been said on both sides, should have remained silent and awaited the verdict of your votes. § 2. But since a gentleman of such authority, and a consul—I mean Marcus Porcius—has not only used the weight of his influence, which needed no words to enhance it, but has also delivered a lengthy and carefully prepared oration against our proposal, I am compelled to make a brief reply. § 3. The consul, however, expended more verbiage on reproof of married women than on criticism of our bill; and he actually raised the question whether the course which he blamed had been adopted by these ladies of their own accord or at our instigation. § 4. But it is the measure that I propose to defend, not ourselves, against whom the consul levelled this

§ 1. Post haec tribuni quoque plebi, qui se intercessuros professi erant cum pauca in eandem sententiam adiecissent, tum L. Valerius pro rogatione ab se promulgata ita disseruit :

"si privati tantummodo ad suadendum dissuadendumque id, quod ab nobis rogatur, processissent, ego quoque, cum satis dictum pro utraque parte existimarem, tacitus suffragia vestra expectassem ; § 2. nunc cum vir gravissimus, consul M. Porcius, non auctoritate solum, quae tacita satis momenti habuisset, sed oratione etiam longa et accurata insectatus sit rogationem nostram, necesse est paucis respondere. § 3. qui tamen plura verba in castigandis matronis quam in rogatione nostra dissuadenda consumpsit, et quidem ut in dubio poneret, utrum id, quod reprehenderet, matronae sua sponte an nobis auctoribus fecissent. § 4. rem defendam, non nos, in quos

allegation, though without any evidence to support his charge. § 5. He talked of conspiracy, sedition, and sometimes secession on the part of the women, because our wives publicly asked that a law whose passage was aimed against them in time of war and during a period of distress should be repealed by you, now that peace reigns and the state is prosperous and flourishing.

§ 6. These and other flights of rhetoric I know there are, to be pressed into the service of exaggeration; and we are all aware that M. Cato, as a speaker, is not merely weighty, but, sometimes, aggressive too, despite his gentle character. § 7. For what startling novelty have these ladies introduced by crowding the streets and courting publicity in a matter which touches them so nearly? Is this the first time upon which they have appeared before the public gaze? Nay, I will open your own 'Antiquities' and refute you from it. § 8. Hear how often they have done the same thing, and always to the interests of the state. To begin at the beginning—in the reign of Romulus, when the Sabines had seized the Capitol and a pitched battle was being fought in the very midst of the forum, did not the matrons rush between the two lines and stay the fury of the fight?

iecit magis hoc consul verbo tenus, quam ut re insimularet. § 5. coetum et seditionem et interdum secessionem muliebrem appellavit, quod matronae in publico vos rogassent, ut legem in se latam per bellum temporibus duris in pace et florenti ac beata re publica abrogaretis.

§ 6. uerba magna, quae rei augendae causa conquirantur, haec et alia esse scio, et M. Catonem oratorem non solum gravem sed interdum etiam trucem esse scimus omnes, cum ingenio sit mitis. § 7. nam quid tandem novi matronae fecerunt, quod frequentes in causa ad se pertinente in publicum processerunt? numquam ante hoc tempus in publico apparuerunt? tuas adversus te Origines revolvam. § 8. accipe quotiens id fecerint, et quidem semper bono publico, iam a principio, regnante Romulo, cum Capitolio ab Sabinis capto medio in foro signis collatis dimicaretur, nonne intercurso matronarum inter acies duas proelium sedatum est?

§ 9. Again, after the expulsion of the kings, when Marcius Coriolanus, at the head of the Volscian legions, had encamped within five miles, was it not *they* who turned away the army, which, otherwise, would have overwhelmed this city? Furthermore, when it had been taken by the Gauls, was not its ransom the gold which *they* contributed to the treasury amid universal applause? § 10. And, not to go to ancient history, in the last war, when there was need of money, did not the widows and the unmarried assist the public funds from their own? And also, when new deities were called in to aid our desperate fortunes, did not our matrons, one and all, set forth to the sea that they might greet the Holy Mother of Ida?

§ 11. But, say you, the grounds are different. Well, I have not set out to prove them parallel. It is sufficient to make good my plea that nothing unprecedented has been done. § 12. If, however, under conditions which affected everybody—men and women alike—no one marvelled at what the matrons did, why, in a case which especially touches themselves, should we wonder at their action? § 13. But what has that action been? Upon my soul, our ears are the ears of tyrants, if, when masters do not disdain the prayers

§ 9. quid? regibus exactis cum Coriolano Marcio duce legiones Volscorum castra ad quintum lapidem posuissent, nonne id agmen, quo obruta haec urbs esset, matronae averterunt? iam urbe capta a Gallis aurum, quo redempta urbs est, nonne matronae consensu omnium in publicum contulerunt? § 10. proximo bello, ne antiqua repetam, nonne et, cum pecunia opus fuit, viduarum pecuniae adiuverunt aerarium, et, cum dii quoque novi ad opem ferendam dubiis rebus accerserentur, matronae universae ad mare profectae sunt ad matrem Idaeam accipiendam?

§ 11. dissimiles, inquis, causae sunt. nec mihi causas aequare propositum est; nihil novi factum purgare satis est. § 12. ceterum quod in rebus ad omnis pariter, viros feminas, pertinentibus fecisse eas nemo miratus est, in causa propriae ad ipsas pertinente miramur fecisse? § 13. quid autem fecerunt? superbas, me dius fidiis, aures habemus, si, cum domini servorum non fastidiant

of their slaves, we are scandalised by the entreaties of honourable women.

preces, nos rogari ab honestis feminis indignamur.

CHAPTER VI

§ 1. And now I come to the question at issue. Here the consul's speech fell under two heads: first he strongly objected to the repeal of any law whatsoever; secondly to the repeal, in particular, of a law for the repression of female extravagances.

§ 2. This universal defence of legislation seemed a fit topic for a consul; while the attack on luxury was well-suited to an austere morality. § 3. Thus there is danger that dust may be thrown in your eyes, unless we show the fallacy which underlies each objection. § 4. Speaking for myself, I admit that laws which are passed, not to meet some special need, but to stand for all time because of their permanent utility, should in no case be repealed, unless either experience has proved them a mistake, or some particular condition of the body politic has rendered them nugatory. § 5. On the other hand, laws once demanded by special situations I see to be "mortal" (if I may use the word) and liable to change with

§ 1. Venio nunc ad id, de quo agitur. in quo duplex consulis oratio fuit; nam et legem ullam omnino abrogari est indignatus, et eam praecipue legem, quae luxuriae muliebris coercendae causa lata esset.

§ 2. et illa communis pro legibus visa consularis oratio est, et haec adversus luxuriam severissimis moribus conveniebat.

§ 3. itaque periculum est, nisi, quid in utraque re vani sit, docuerimus, ne quis error vobis offundatur. § 4. ego enim quem

ad modum ex iis legibus, quae non in tempus aliquid, sed perpetuae utilitatis causa in aeternum latae sunt, nullam abrogari debere fateor, nisi quam aut usus coarguit aut status aliquis rei publicae inutilem fecit, § 5. sic, quas tempora aliqua desiderarunt leges, mortales, ut ita dicam, et temporibus ipsis mutabiles esse video.

changing times. § 6. Measures adopted in peace are generally rescinded by war; those adopted in war, by peace. In directing a ship, some methods are of value for good weather, others for bad. § 7. Since then these two types of legislation are inherently so different, to which type, think you, does this law whose repeal we propose belong? § 8. Well, is it some ancient enactment of the kings, as old as the life of our city? Or, to take the era following, when the decemvirs were appointed to draw up a code, was it included by them in the Twelve Tables? Did our ancestors regard it as essential to the preservation of wifely honour, and therefore must *we* fear that, in annulling it, we annul also the purity and sanctity of womanhood?

§ 9. But everyone knows that this is a law without precedent, carried twenty years ago in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius. Without it, for all those years, married women lived lives beyond reproach; and why, pray, is there danger that its repeal may lead to an outbreak of voluptuousness? § 10. If this measure had been one of long standing, or passed in order to limit feminine indulgence, there would be reason to fear that its abolition might prove an incite-

§ 6. quae in pace lata sunt, plerumque bellum abrogat, quae in bello pax, ut in navis administratione alia in secunda, alia in adversa tempestate usui sunt. § 7. haec cum ita natura distincta sint, ex utro tandem genere ea lex esse videtur, quam abrogamus? § 8. quid? vetus regia lex, simul cum ipsa urbe nata aut, quod secundum est, ab decemviris ad condenda iura creatis in duodecim tabulis scripta, sine qua cum maiores nostri non existimarint decus matronale servari posse, nobis quoque verendum sit, ne cum ea pudorem sanctitatemque feminarum abrogemus?

§ 9. quis igitur nescit novam istam legem esse, Q. Fabio et Ti. Sempronio consulibus viginti ante annis latam? sine qua cum per tot annos matronae optimis moribus vixerint, quod tandem, ne abrogata ea effundantur ad luxuriam, periculum est? § 10. nam si ista lex *vetus* aut ideo lata esset, ut finiret libidinem muliebrem, verendum foret, ne abrogata in-

ment; but the grounds of its adoption may be seen in the circumstances themselves. § 11. Hannibal was in Italy, the victor of Cannae; Tarentum, Arpi, and Capua were already in his hands; § 12. Rome itself was thought to be the objective of his army; our allies had revolted; there were no soldiers to take the place of the fallen, no seamen to man the fleet, no money in the treasury; slaves were being purchased to bear arms, the price for whom was to be paid to their owners on the conclusion of hostilities; § 13. up to the same date of settlement the tax-farmers promised to contract for the supply of corn and other necessities of war; slaves to act as rowers, the number fixed in proportion to income, were being provided by us as well as pay; § 14. all our gold and silver (senators had set the example) we were contributing to the public service; widows, unmarried women, and wards were taking what they possessed to the treasury; it was provided by law that we should have at home not more than a certain amount of wrought gold and silver, or of silver and bronze coin—: § 15. at such a time, were the wives so given up to luxurious adornment that the Oppian law was needed for its repression? Why, owing to the

citaret; cur sit autem lata, ipsum indicabit tempus. § 11. Hannibal in Italia erat, victor ad Cannas; iam Tarentum, iam Arpos, iam Capuam habebat; § 12. ad urbem Romam admoturus exercitum videbatur; defecerant socii; non milites in supplementum, non socios navalis ad classem tuendam, non pecuniam in aerario habebamus; servi, quibus arma darentur, ita ut pretium pro iis bello perfecto dominis solveretur, emebantur; § 13. in eandem diem pecuniae frumentum et cetera, quae belli usus postulabant, praebenda publicani se conducturos professi erant; servos ad remum numero ex censu constituto cum stipendio nostro dabamus; § 14. aurum et argentum omne ab senatoribus eius rei initio orto in publicum conferebamus; viduae et pupilli pecunias suas in aerarium deferebant; cautum erat, quo ne plus auri et argenti facti, quo ne plus signati argenti et aeris domi haberemus—: § 15. tali tempore in luxuria et ornatu matronae occupatae erant, ut ad eam coercendam Oppia lex desiderata sit,

abandonment of Ceres' sacrifice (for all the women were in mourning), the senate commanded that the period of such mourning should be limited to thirty days!

§ 16. Anyone can see that the poverty and distress in the country, when every private citizen had to convert his money to the public use, were responsible for this piece of legislation which was to remain on the statute book only so long as the reason for its enactment continued to exist.

§ 17. For if the measures then decreed by the senate or passed by the assembly to meet the circumstances of the moment ought to hold good for all time, why do we refund moneys to private persons? Why do we call for state contracts on the basis of immediate payment? § 18. Why are slaves not bought to serve in our armies? Why do we not, as individuals, provide rowers, exactly as we provided them before?

cum, quia Cereris sacrificium lugentibus omnibus matronis intermissum erat, senatus finire luctum triginta diebus iussit?

§ 16. cui non apparet inopiam et miseriam civitatis, [et] quia omnium privatorum pecuniae in usum publicum vertendae erant, istam legem scripsisse, tam diu mansuram, quam diu causa scribendae legis mansisset?

§ 17. nam si, quae tunc temporis causa aut decrevit senatus aut populus iussit, in perpetuum servari oportet, cur pecunias reddimus privatis? cur publica praesenti pecunia locamus? § 18. cur servi, qui militent, non emuntur? cur privati non damus remiges, sicut tunc dedimus?

CHAPTER VII

§ 1. All other classes, all other persons are to feel the improvement in the condition of the state; and shall only our wives reap no benefit from its peace and tranquillity? § 2. Purple will be worn

§ 1. omnes alii ordines, omnes homines mutationem in meliorem statum rei publicae sentient; ad coniuges tantum nostras pacis et tranquillitatis publicae fructus non perveniet? § 2. purpura viri

by us men in the official dress of magistrates and priests; our children will wear the toga bordered with purple; magistrates in colonies and provincial towns, and here, in Rome, the lowest official class, the superintendents of streets, will receive from us the right to use this same dress; § 3. and not merely in life may they have this uniform: when dead they may be cremated with it. Shall we then deny the use of purple to none but women? You, the husband, may have purple for your hangings, and will you not allow the mistress of your household to wear that colour in her mantle? Are the caparisons of your horse to be more brilliant than the dresses of your wife?

§ 4. Yet, in the case of purple, which wears out and is wasted, I can see that there is some reason, however unjust, for parsimony. But in the matter of gold, where, if we except the cost of workmanship, there is no loss in value, why should we be grudging? Rather it is a safe investment for private and public needs, as, in fact, you have found out by experience.

§ 5. It was urged that no rivalry exists between individual women now that none of them possesses gold. But, surely, our women as a class feel the bitterest indignation when they see the

utemur, praetextati in magistratibus, in sacerdotiis; liberi nostri praetextis purpura togis utentur; magistratibus in coloniis municipiisque, hic Romae infimo generi, magistris vicorum, togae praetextae habendae ius permittemus, § 3. nec ut vivi solum habeant [tantum] insigne, sed etiam ut cum eo crementur mortui: feminis dumtaxat purpurae usu interdicens? et, cum tibi viro liceat purpura in vestem stragulam uti, matrem familiae tuam purpureum amiculum habere non sines, et equus tuus speciosius instratus erit quam uxor vestita?

§ 4. sed in purpura, quae teritur absumitur, iniustam quidem, sed aliquam tamen causam tenacitatis video; in auro vero, in quo praeter manupretium nihil intertrimenti fit, quae malignitas est? praesidium potius in eo est et ad privatos et ad publicos usus, sicut experti estis.

§ 5. nullam aemulationem inter se singularum, quoniam nulla haberet, esse aiebat. at hercule universis dolor et indignatio est,

wives of Latin allies permitted such ornaments as are denied to themselves; § 6. when they see them conspicuous in gold and purple, and driving through the city, while they themselves follow on foot, as if the administration were centred not in their own community but in the communities from which those others come. § 7. Such a contrast could wound the feelings of men; how much more of weak women, who are affected by the merest trifles?

§ 8. Offices, priesthoods, triumphs, decorations, donatives and spoils of war cannot fall to their lot; § 9. toilet, ornaments, dress—these are the “decorations” of womanhood; these are their delight and pride; these are what our forefathers called “the adornment of woman.”

§ 10. In mourning, what do they do but lay aside their gold as well as their purple? When mourning is over, what do they do but resume them? If they give thanks or offer supplications, what do they add save greater splendour in apparel?

§ 11. Of course, if you repeal the Oppian law, *you* will be powerless should you desire to enforce any prohibition now contained in that law! Of course, our daughters, wives, and even sisters will be less under control in certain

cum sociorum Latini nominis uxoribus vident ea concessa ornamenta, quae sibi adempta sint, § 6. cum insignis eas esse auro et purpura, cum illas vehi per urbem, se pedibus sequi, tamquam in illarum civitatibus, non in sua imperium sit. § 7. virorum hoc animos vulnerare posset; quid muliercularum censetis, quas etiam parva movent?

§ 8. non magistratus nec sacerdotia nec triumphi nec insignia nec dona aut spolia bellica iis contingere possunt; § 9. munitiae et ornatus et cultus, haec feminarum insignia sunt, his gaudent et gloriantur, hunc mundum muliebrem appellarunt maiores nostri.

§ 10. quid aliud in luctu quam purpuram atque aurum deponunt? quid, cum eluxerunt, sumunt? quid in gratulationibus supplicationibusque nisi excellentiorem ornatum adiciunt?

§ 11. scilicet, si legem Oppiam abrogaveritis, non vestri arbitrii erit, si quid eius vetare volueritis, quod nunc lex vetat; minus filiae, uxores, sorores etiam quibusdam

households! § 12. But never, while their male relatives are living, is the yoke of slavery taken from women; and they themselves abhor the liberty which is brought by the loss of husband or father. § 13. They desire that you, rather than the law, should regulate their adornment; and you, on your part, should have them under protection and guardianship, not hold them in bondage, preferring the title of father or husband to that of master.

§ 14. Those were inflammatory expressions for a consul to use when just now he talked of sedition and secession on the part of the women. The danger is that they may seize the Sacred Hill—an angry plebs once did it—or perhaps the Aventine!

§ 15. But submission is for weakness like theirs, no matter what you decide. Yet the greater your power, the more moderate should be your exercise of it."

in manu erunt;—§ 12. numquam salvis suis exuitur servitus muliebris; et ipsae libertatem, quam viduitas et orbitas facit, detestantur. § 13. in vestro arbitrio suum ornatum quam in legis malunt esse; et vos in manu et tutela, non in servitio debetis habere eas et malle patres vos aut viros quam dominos dici.

§ 14. invidiosis nominibus utebatur modo consul seditionem muliebrem et secessionem appellando. id enim periculum est, ne Sacrum montem, sicut quondam irata plebs, aut Aventinum capiant;—

§ 15. patiendum huic infirmitati est, quodcumque vos censueritis. quo plus potestis, eo moderatius imperio uti debetis."

CHAPTER VIII

§ 1. Such were the speeches made in favour of or against the law.

Crowds of women, in larger numbers than ever, poured, next day, into the streets. § 2. A mass

§ 1. Haec cum contra legem proque lege dicta essent, aliquanto maior frequentia mulierum postero die sese in publicum effudit, § 2. unoque agmine omnes Bru-

meeting besieged the doors of the Bruti, who were attempting to block their colleagues' proposal. The women persisted in these methods until opposition was abandoned by the tribunes. § 3. There was then no doubt that the Lex Oppia would be repealed by all the tribes; and repealed it was twenty years after it first became law.

torum ianuas obsederunt, qui collegarum rogationi intercedebant, nec ante abstiterunt, quam remissa intercessio ab tribunis est.

§ 3. nulla deinde dubitatio fuit, quin omnes tribus legem abrogarent. viginti annis post abrogata est quam lata.

CHAPTER I

§ 1. anxieties caused by... wars = *bellorum...curas*—the genitive is a subjective genitive, like *hostium* in *terror hostium* = “the panic caused by the enemy.”

such serious = *magnorum*: the adjective of quantity is, abnormally, post-positive, and therefore has stress. Livy wishes to draw our attention to a double antithesis, viz., serious wars and trivial (*parva* post-positive) discussions.

The order *inter bellorum...curas* is to be observed. A Roman would read this: “Amid such wars... and their anxieties.”

For the method of expression, compare 27. 8. 1 *inter maiorum rerum curas comitia maximi curionis...vetus excitaverunt certamen*. W. quotes 9. 30. 10 *haec inter duorum ingentium bellorum curam gerebantur*.

there occurred = *intercessit*.

The verb in this sense of “intervened” is found with *inter* only here in Livy (W.).

an episode = *res*.

For other meanings of this “blank cheque” see Index.

which though trivial as narrative
...ended in a grave conflict

=parva dictu, sed quae...in magnum certamen excesserit.

For the form of expression, i.e. an adjective combined with a relative + a consecutive subjunctive (the relative being equivalent to *talis ut*), cp. 6. 35. 5. "All measures of importance and measures which could not be carried without a very serious conflict" = *cuncta ingentia et quae sine certamine maximo obtineri non possent*.

W. quotes many parallels at 10. 23. 9.

=parva dictu

trivial { as narrative
 { historically

Lit. "small in point of the saying." Almost every verb has a verbal noun of the 4th Declension type, possessing only two cases, the accusative and ablative. The former is restricted to an accusative of "motion to" without a preposition, as in the survival *Romam* = to Rome (hence the so-called supine in *-um* occurs only with an idea of motion, cp. 34. 13. 2 *praedatum milites in hostium agros ducebat*); the latter is exclusively used as an ablative "in point of which," cp. 34. 3. 8 *honestum dictu*.

The terms "active" and "passive" supine should be abandoned. Even "supine" is almost meaningless; but, until there is evidence to the contrary, I shall believe that *supinum* is a

which...occasioned so much feeling
that it ended

poor representative of κλιτικόν and simply signifies "declinable" (part of the verb).

= quae studiis...excesserit

Lit. "which by reason of party feeling ended..."

The plural *studia* = instances of *studium*, i.e. of partizanship. So *irae* = displays, outbreaks of anger. Compare Cic. *De Off.* 1. 22. 78 *domesticae fortitudines* = instances of civic courage; *ib.* 1. 29. 103 *quietibus ceteris* = other modes of resting; *ib.* 1. 36. 131 *in festinationibus* = in cases of hurry; *ib.* 3. 16. 67 *huiusmodi reticentiae* = such cases of reticence. Add *De Amic.* § 69 *excellentiae* and *ib.* § 67 *satietates*. Dr Postgate (*Sermo Latinus*, § 61, p. 52) quotes a beautiful instance from Cic. *N. D.* ii, § 98.

Often the presence of a plural concrete genitive seems to produce plurality in the abstract noun. Thus "Guilty consciousness of such offences" becomes *conscientias eiusmodi facinorum* (Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 20. 56). Compare *Verr.* 5. 9. 23 *formidines...incommodorum*; *Parad.* 2. 18 *conscientiae...maleficiorum*. Add *Rosc. Amer.* 24. 67.

ended in

= in (aliquid) *excedere*, cp. Greek *τελευτᾶν ἔς τι*.

grave

= *magnum*, despite *magnorum* above.

Latin has no objection to re-

§ 2.

introduced a proposal

to repeal the Oppian law

§ 3. This law had been passed
on the motion of Gaius Oppius

petition. For other instances see Index s. v. Repetition.

Note the repetition *plebi ad plebem* (English).

For *plebi*, an old form of the genitive, surviving in this phrase and in *plebiscitum*, see R. 1. 357 (*d*).

=tulerunt.

The full phrase would be *rogationem ferre* (*promulgare*); but in the case of *ferre*, the noun is often omitted.

=de Oppia lege abroganda.

The rule of a Latin sentence is that when *constructionally* complete it ought *ipso facto* to be at an end. Anything which then lapses over gains great emphasis. But here the sentence is not constructionally complete at *tulerunt*: we still wait for *de*. Hence there is nothing abnormal in the order, save that *Oppia* precedes *lege*. Perhaps Livy wishes to avoid the assonance *Oppia abroganda*.

The Oppian law had been passed in 215 B.C.—twenty years before the present proposal to repeal it.

=tulerat eam C. Oppius.

Here *tulerat* acts as a connective by re-echoing *tulerunt*, as in the familiar: "He took and burnt the city"=*urbem cepit: captam incendit*.

Distinguish *rogationem ferre* = "propose a measure," and *legem*

ferre (*perferre*) = "get a law passed."

This C. (before Oppius) is the old letter which once stood both for C and G. It survived *when standing alone* in praenomina and represented G. Hence C. = Gaius. There is no such name as Caius.

Note the order—verb (*tulerat*), object (*eam*), subject (*Oppius*). This order is by no means uncommon, especially with *movere*, cp. 2. 13. 2 ; 2. 27. 3, etc. I have noticed at least 21 instances with *movere*.

during the consulship of Q. Fabius and Ti. Sempronius

=consulibus Q. Fabio, Ti. Sempronio.

Note that the abstract "consulship" becomes concrete "consuls" (cp. 34. 2. 6 *auctoribus*), and that Latin often omits "and" in such a phrase. For the "bi-membral asyndeton" see M. § 434. But at 34. 6. 9 we have Q. Fabio et Ti. Sempronio consulibus.

when the excitement of the Punic War was at its height

=in medio ardore Punici belli.

Observe the prep. *in* expressing attendant circumstances, cp. *in re trepida*, and 34. 46. 12 "Where the struggle is desperate" = *in asperis rebus*.

The normal position of *Punici belli* would be between *medio* and *ardore*. Livy repeats the order of our text at 24. 45. 4 *in medio ardore belli* (but Curtius, 8. 4. 27 *in medio cupiditatis ardore*). Indeed when Livy has written pre-

position + adjective (or equivalent) + noun, the complement often lapses over, cp. 34. 2. 8 *per medium agmen mulierum*; 36. 18. 3 *sub ipsis radicibus montis*; 38. 22. 3 *in talibus iniquitatibus locorum*; 31. 18. 7 *per omnes vias leti*; 34. 14. 7 *ab dextro latere hostium*; 34. 6. 13 *in eandem diem pecuniae*. Add 3. 10. 7; 7. 10. 8; 21. 21. 8; 23. 21. 2; 24. 45. 4; 38. 21. 1; 45. 6. 4; 45. 10. 10 etc. Similarly when one complement has already been inserted the other is allowed to lapse over, as always in Greek, e.g. αἱ ἐν τῷ λιμένι νῆες ὀρμούσαι, cp. 3. 40. 3 *foederis nefarie icti cum collegis*, and 21. 52. 6 *ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos*.

Distinguish cases like 34. 9. 5 *partem muri versam in agros*, and 36. 10. 7 *urbis sitae in plano*. Here the sense is not complete at *versam* and *sitae*, and the words following do not come as a surprise.

See too note on 34. 1. 5 *omnes vias urbis*.

excitement of the war

=ardor belli.

Metaphors from fires—which were of frequent occurrence in ancient cities—are very common in Latin; so common that they were becoming dead metaphors. Thus at 21. 58. 6 a downpour of rain is said to set on fire (!) the violence of the wind—*effuso imbre*

...eo magis accensa vis venti est.
We say: "a heavy downpour only *increased* the violence of the wind."

Modern cities are built to minimise the possibility of fires, and the metaphor is consequently strange to us. Thus we are content to say: "a serious war *broke out*," where Livy (35. 2. 3) writes: *bellum ingens exarsit* (cp. 40. 58. 2; 41. 25. 8).

In the same way, "a fierce battle *began*" = *atrox pugna...accensa est* (27. 32. 5, and compare 6. 3. 8; 9. 39. 6); "a furious conflict *arose*" = *atrox proelium...exarsit* (27. 2. 8); "the plague *devastated* both city and country" = *pestilentia urens simul urbem atque agros* (10. 47. 6).

It provided that a woman should possess not more

=ne qua mulier plus...haberet.

No new verb is needed in Latin. The terms of the bill can depend on *tulerat*, and the negative of English comes to the very front in Latin. We say: "*And*, on the morrow, he spoke *not* a word"; Latin says: *nec quicquam postridie dixit*.

Here *ne...haberet* explains *legem* preceding, i.e. "a law that no woman was to wear." We might have had *ut ne*, where *ut* is explanatory = "namely that," and *ne...haberet* is dependent jussive, representing *ne qua...habeat* of the proclamation.

more than half an ounce

=plus semunciam.

The construction is as with *plus quam*. This is especially common with *plus* and *amplius* where numerals follow. See M. § 305.

and wear no dresses

=nec vestimento...uteretur.

For *nec* cp. above on *ne qua mulier*.

The combination *nē...nec* for *ne...neve* is not infrequent at all periods. Livy has one case of *ne...ve* for *ne...neve*, viz. 43. 16. 2. Here he revels in a variety (*ne...nec...neu...aut*) which would have shocked Cicero.

Women were also forbidden to ride

=*neu...veheretur*.

"Women were also forbidden to" is mere English variety for "and (it provided that)...not (any woman) should." Latin continues the original construction without any sense of monotony. Similarly, in long passages of Or. Obl., English must continually insert such expressions as: "He also asserted," "he further urged," "he concluded by saying," etc.

in carriages

=*iuncto vehiculo*.

The preposition *in* is never required if the idea of the means (as here), the instrument, or the manner is involved. The full phrase is *vehiculo equis* (or *iumentis*) *iuncto* i.e. a vehicle yoked to horses (or beasts of burden). It is impossible to say whether *equis* is dative or ablative. Livy

either in the city or in towns

has the abbreviated expression
iuncta vehicula at 42. 65. 3 also.

=in urbe oppidove.

Here *urbe* = Rome, and *oppido*
=any Roman provincial town.

Latin keeps the singular *oppido*
to preserve parallelism.

Note *ve* the least emphatic
word for "or." Its function is
often, as here, to express a minor
alternative within a major. Com-
pare 21. 35. 2 *utcumque aut* locus
opportunitatem daret aut pro-
gressi *morative* aliquam occa-
sionem fecissent; 1. 13. 7 *id non*
traditur...an dignitatibus suis vi-
rorumve *an* sorte lectae sint. See
C. R. Vol. xvii. p. 43.

Similarly *vel...vel* may sub-
divide an *aut*, cp. Cic. *De Orat.*
2. 4. 17 *aut se ostentat aut* eorum
quibuscum est *vel* dignitatis *vel*
commodi rationem non habet.

See too 34. 7. 8 on *nec dona*
aut spolia.

or within a mile's radius of these

=aut propius inde mille passus.

Put what the English *means*,
i.e. "or nearer to these than a
1000 paces."

After *inde* we may supply *quam*
(cp. *plus semunciam* above).

For *mille passus* acc. of "dis-
tance away," see R. § 1088.

More usual than *propius inde*
would be *propius urbem*, i.e. the
word "city" would be boldly and
idiomatically repeated, cp. 40. 44. 6.
"In the city and within ten miles'

radius of *it*"=in urbe et propius urbem decem milia passuum.

But here *oppida* have to be included and, to avoid the cumbersome *aut propius urbem oppidumve*, Livy writes *inde*=*ab iis*, with his usual love of adverb in place of preposition+ demonstrative. See L. and E. p. 53 β.

We say: "nearer to Brindisi"; Latin says: "nearer reckoning from B." Compare Cic. *Att.* 8. 14 "places which are nearer to Brindisi than you are"=*loca quae a Brundisio propius absunt quam tu.*

=*sacrorum causa.*

The genitive is prepositive and has stress—the only exception is in connexion with *religion*.

Note the plural Junii Bruti. We say: "Charles and John Smith"; Latin says: "Charles and John Smiths."

=*nec eam se abrogari passuros aiebant.*

Here "and...not">*nec* i.e. the negative is brought forward.

Note *eam se*; the normal order would be *se eam*, but "its" has a certain amount of stress, i.e. whatever might happen to other measures, *this one* should not be repealed.

We might expect *negabantque eam se...passuros*, but such expressions as *adfirmabant neque...neque* (3. 12. 3) are more emphatic

for purposes of religious ceremonial

§ 4.

and asserted that they would not permit its repeal

than *negabant* *neque* *aut* } ... *neque* *aut* }

(W.). Here the emphasis of *aiebant* is shown by its position ; for verbs of saying, showing, believing, etc., come early unless emphatic.

=eam...abrogari.

English noun > Latin verb.

=ad suadendum dissuadendum-
que.

Note *que*="or," "and as the case might be." So Greek *καί* preceded by *τε*, or *καί* alone.

suadere="to make something acceptable (*suave*) to someone." Hence *legem suadere*, *dissuadere*="to speak for," "speak against a measure." See 34. 2. 12 *rogationem*...suadent.

=Capitolium.

There is no connective in Latin. We have three sentences in this paragraph : (1) *tribuni*...*aiebant*, (2) *nobiles* *prodibant*, (3) *Capitolium*...*complebatur*, and, as with a series of nouns, so with a series of sentences (in vivid narrative) Latin either inserts all connectives or omits all, or inserts *que* with the last member.

=*turba hominum*.

The English plural "crowds" is an odd idiom.

Latin uses *hominum* to include women as well as men.

=*adversantiumque*. See on *dissuadendumque* above.

its repeal

in support or opposition

and the Capitol

crowds of people

or condemning

measure

=legi.

Just above we have *legem Oppiam*=the Oppian law; but English is becoming the slave of variety. This tendency is due to the vast wealth of synonyms which we have acquired from so many languages. English is like Moorish architecture: Latin like some Doric temple, with its repetition of massive simplicity.

§ 5.

Observe how late the subject (married women) comes in English)(Latin. Thus we get in broken English: "The married by no either influence or respect for or order of husbands...were restrained." Latin is formal and without variation—*nec...nec...nec*. Contrast the one "or" of English, and the two words "deaf" and "unmoved," both expressed by the one construction in Latin.

Note *nulla nec...nec*. An original negative may be subdivided by *nec...nec* or *aut...aut*. See also 34. 2. 11 *nullam ne privatam quidem rem*.

be kept within doors

=*contineri limine*.

With *contineri* in this sense Livy has (1) *in*+abl., (2) *intra*+acc., (3) the plain abl. as here. The last is an abl. of means, cp. 34. 2. 10 *finibus continere*.

They besieged every road

=*omnis vias...obsidebant*.

The imperfect is frequentative. Note that there is no connective in Latin. It is a case of *adversa-*

tive asyndeton. The insertion of *sed* is more common when, as here, the preceding sentence is negated. But when the first sentence is positive and the second negative, then "but not," "and not" must always be expressed by plain *non*, e.g. "These are the faults of character and not of old age" = *haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis*. See M. § 458 (a) Obs. 1, and cp. 34. 2. 14 on "but unless." The form *omnis*=*omnes* is, normally, used in the accusative only.

=*urbis*.

Only a genitive case can depend on a noun. See below, however, for prepositional phrases qualifying a noun. Compare Pref. § 5. "Reward *for* my labours" = *laboris pretium*; *ib.* § 7. "Renown *in* war" = *belli gloria*; *ib.* § 11. "Affection *for* the work" = *amor negotii*; *ib.* § 12. "Passion *for* wasting oneself" = *desiderium per-eundi*; *ib.* § 13. "Supplications *to* gods" = *precationibus deorum*, etc. Add 34. 2. 8 *verecundia... maiestatis*.

The words *vias urbis* form one phrase = "city-roads"; hence *urbis* need not go between *omnis* and *vias*, cp. 34. 9. 2 *totum orbem muri* (wall-circle) and 34. 9. 6 *pars tertia civium* (a third).

=*aditusque in forum*.

The prepositional phrase *in*

in the city

and (every) approach to the forum

forum may qualify *aditus* because this word is of a strong verbal nature and is accompanied by the suitable preposition. So we may say *reditus in urbem*, *discessio ab urbe*, etc.

It is worth while to formulate the law about prepositional phrases. They must not qualify a noun *standing by itself* unless (a) the preposition be (1) *cum*, *sine* (e.g. "a man without honour" = *homo sine fide*); (2) *in* + acc., *erga*, *adversus* with nouns denoting a state of mind (e.g. "affection towards you" = *amor erga te*) or a way of acting (e.g. "cruelty towards enemies" = *crudelitas in hostes*); or unless (b) the noun be of verbal nature and accompanied by the suitable preposition, e.g. *reditus in urbem*, *discessio ab urbe*.

But prepositional phrases may always qualify a noun *provided the noun is accompanied by any sort of attribute*.

Thus the following are good Latin: *magnae in Gallia victoriae*; *Caesaris in Gallia victoriae*. It would, therefore, be possible to express "every road in the city" by *omnes in urbe vias*, because of the presence of *omnes*; and *omnes in forum aditus* would be doubly justified under (a) and under (b).

If no attribute occurs, we must fall back on a relative clause, e.g.

"The man in the garden" = *homo qui in horto est*.

thither

There are phraseological exceptions such as *lex de repetundis* (*de sicariis*, etc.) and *homo de plebe* = *homo plebeius*. See M. § 298. 1. = *ad forum*, despite *in forum* just preceding—Latin repetition)(English variety. The prepositions are different: *ad*, of course, = towards, while *in* = into.

to remember

This needs no expression in Latin, which merely says: "begging the men, the state being prosperous...to permit."

the prosperity

= *florente*—English noun > Latin verb.

daily growth of...fortunes

= *crescente in dies*...*fortuna*—English adjective > Latin adverb, and English noun > Latin verb. So in Greek: "After the unexpected but signal defeat of the Mede" = *τοῦ Μήδου παρὰ λόγον πολλὰ σφαλέντος* (Thuc. 6. 33. 6).

all private fortunes

Note that *in dies* is, as a rule, associated only with expressions denoting increase or decrease. Otherwise use *cotidie*.

= *privata omnium fortuna*.

their wives as well as themselves

The plural of *fortuna* is more frequent in this sense.

= *matronis quoque* = *καὶ ταῖς γυναιξί*.

Note English variety—"wives" and "married women" (first word in sentence) and contrast Latin repetition *matronis*...*matronae*.

§ 6.

The order of the first sentence is abnormal, but so is the event narrated. There was an increasing crowd—of women every day!

A Roman would not be surprised to find the city crowded with *men* at election-time; but the idea of women crowding the streets would be preposterous. Hence the normal *haec mulierum frequentia* is discarded, and *mulierum* is put outside. Both *augebatur* and *in dies* get stress by reason of their position. There was an *increase* (not a diminution), and this increase went on and on as the days went on and on. All this is lost if we write the normal *haec mulierum frequentia in dies augebatur*. Compare 34. 3. 7 *negastis hoc piis precibus earum*.

Observe that there is no connective at *augebatur*. Thus from the beginning of § 4 we have had six separate sentences without connectives. This asyndetic short-sentence style is in Livy quite as common as (perhaps more common than) the periodic.
=in dies.

day by day

Above we have “daily”=in dies. Note English variety)(Latin repetition.

as they gathered

=*for* they ... = *nam* ... *conveniebant*.

The imperfect is partly “panoramic” (there they were gathering!), partly frequentative.

and villages

=conciliabulisque.

At 29. 37. 3 we have the frequent combination *fora et conciliabula*. The former="market-towns"; the latter were places of assembly for the inhabitants of several *pagi* in sparsely populated districts. Here courts, religious festivals, levies of troops, markets, etc. were held.

§ 7. And now

=iam.

consuls, praetors, and other officials

The word is partly a mere connective = "furthermore"; partly an adverb of time = "already."

=*et* consules praetoresque *et* alios magistratus.

Note the stiff formal grouping of Latin (*a*) major officials, subdivided into (1) consuls, (2) praetors, (*b*) minor officials.

A Roman thinks and writes like an organizer, always arranging and classifying. Here (*a*) and (*b*) = *et...et*, and (1) and (2) = *que*, which performs the same function as *ve* in § 3 *in urbe oppidove*. English dislikes all this marshalling.

=ceterum.

But

A favourite word with Livy. It occurs once in Terence, and once only in Cicero. Sallust first made it popular.

=alterum...consulem.

of the first, one

Latin repeats consul; English varies.

one

=alterum, not *unum*, for "one" = "one of two."

was found

and, in support.....*he*

whose repeal was proposed

=habebant, "they found." The English varies the subject; Latin retains the same one as long as possible.

=qui.

=quae abrogabatur.

If we turn this actively—*quam abrogabant*—we see that the tense is a kind of conative imperfect="which they were trying to repeal, were for repealing." Compare 34. 6. 7 "whose repeal we propose"=*quam abrogamus*.

Note that the noun "repeal" >verb in Latin. So in the next words: "delivered the following speech"=*ita disseruit*, i.e. the noun "speech" >verb, and the adjective "following" >adverb (*ita*).

CHAPTER II

§ 1. Gentlemen

=Quirites.

Had Cato been addressing the Senate and not the Commons, we should have had *patres conscripti* or *patres* alone. The form of address "Gentlemen" can hardly come later than second or third in our language: here in Latin it comes eighth.

The Englishman usually begins with "Gentlemen," but, in Latin and Greek, such phrases as *Quirites*, *patres conscripti*, ὦ ἄνδρες

Ἀθηναῖοι, never come earlier than second in the sentence, and often much later.

So in a preface, e.g.

“My dear Marcus,

Although you ought, etc.,”

we find (*De Off.* 1. 1) *quamquam te, Marce fili,...oportet*. Compare *ib.* 2. 1 and 3. 1.

=*quisque nostrum*.

The forms *nostrum*, *vestrum* (-um=-ων, the old genitive ending) only occur as partitive genitives, while *nostri*, *vestri*, are exclusively used as objective genitives. Thus “fear of us”=*timor nostri*; “each of us”=*quisque nostrum*.

In English “of us,” “of you,” etc., are used only as partitive and objective genitives.

=*in sua...matre familiae*.

Here *in*=in the case of.

Note how *sua* immediately *precedes* *quisque*, according to the normal order of the idiom.

Livy never uses the old form *familias* (cp. *φιλίας*) either with *pater* or *mater*—so W.

=*retinere instituisset*.

The verb *instituire* involves three notions: (1) beginning, (2) practising, making an *institution* of, (3) determining.

=*haberemus*.

Lit. “we should have been having.” It cannot too often be stated that the imperfect sub-

each of us

in his relations with the mistress
of his household

had from the beginning retained

we should now have

junctive apodosis expresses an *incomplete* state or action, whether referring to present or past time, e.g. *moreretur* = "he would have been dying" (now or then); whereas the pluperfect subjunctive apodosis expresses a *complete* state or action, whether referring to present or past time, e.g. *mortuus esset* = "he would have been dead" (now or then).

less trouble

= minus...negotii.

Note the distant separation of this partitive genitive. Such separation is almost the rule, cp. 34. 6. 3 *quid...vani*; 12. 3 *ne quid...ignominiae*; 14. 5 *quantum...loci*; 29. 6 *quod...muri*; and passim, e.g. 1. 12. 1; 3. 49. 8; 3. 58. 8; 4. 53. 13; 21. 8. 5, etc.

the other sex

= feminis.

"The other sex" is an "ornate alias" for women; therefore in Latin "women" must be written. Latin will have none of the "ornate alias."

as a whole

= universis.

The adjective = an adverb — "collectively." It is prepositive in contrast with *in sua quisque*. If the individual woman had been repressed, collective woman would give less trouble.

§ 2. Unfortunately

= nunc, i.e. "but as a matter of fact." Like *νῦν δέ* of Greek, *nunc* may = "but as things are" or "but as things were." W. on 1. 28. 9 says that this *nunc* is more

frequent in direct and indirect speeches than in narrative. (For $\nu\upsilon\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ = "but as things *were*," cp. Thuc. 3. 113. 6, and Dem. xxxiv. 15, p. 911. 26.)

= domi.

Note how this word gains stress through preceding the subject and so prepares us for the antithesis *in foro*—i.e. a home defeat (*domi victa*) means humiliation *outside*. Greek would write: $\text{ιδία μὲν...δημοσία δέ.}$
= libertas nostra.

The plural is an English idiom. So "our hopes" will almost always be "*spes nostra*."

= impotentia muliebri.

Lit. "by want of control ($\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$) belonging to a woman."
= victa...obteritur.

In Latin the "and" disappears, because "have been overthrown" becomes a participle.

= obteritur et calcatur.

A rhetorical doublet, like the familiar *oro atque obsecro*, "I hope and pray," "Sin and wickedness," $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$.

= *et, quia...non continuimus...horremus*.

Note the connective *et*)(English. Observe how Latin deals with our "and therefore." Thus "I am tired and therefore am going out" = *quia defessus sum, (± idcirco) exeo, or eo (idcirco) exeo quod defessus sum*. Greek says $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\upsilon\omega\nu\ \xi\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$.

in the home

our liberties

by undisciplined womanhood

have been overthrown...and...are
being trodden under foot

are being trodden under foot

We have failed to curb...and there-
fore we tremble

in the mass

§ 3. For my own part

always thought it

a fabulous story

the whole male population

among the women

root and branch

§ 4. but from every class and
from both sexes

Note the matter of fact *non continuimus* "did not curb," for the picturesque English "failed to curb, neglected to curb."

= *universas*.

The same adjective again, despite *universis* ("as a whole") in § 1 above—Latin repetition)(English variety.

= *equidem* = ἅλλ' ἑγωγε. Note that *equidem* is almost universally followed by the first person of the verb.

= *ducebam esse*.

W. says that with the active of *ducere* Livy usually omits *esse*.

= *fabulam et fictam rem*.

For *rem* see Index.

= *virorum omne genus*.

Lit. "every class of males." By making *virorum* prepositive, Livy prepares us for the antithesis *muliebri*.

For the story of Lemnos and Hypsipyle see *Classical Dictionary*.

= *muliebri*, despite *muliebri* ("womanhood") of § 2 above—Latin repetition)(English variety.

= *ab stirpe* = ἀπὸ ριζῶν.

= *ab nullo genere non*.

Observe the adversative asyndeton. See 34. 1. 5. (p. 38 at bottom.)

The word *genus* means class or sex; here both senses are to be understood, but in § 3 (above) only the sense "class" is intended.

cabals, meetings, *and* secret conferences

=coetus et concilia et secretas consultationes.

Latin either inserts all the connectives (as here) or omits all, or attaches *que* to the last member.

if...are permitted

=si...sinas.

The subjunctive is called that of the "Ideal Second Person," i.e. "you"="one." The passive of English may thus be avoided. Greek, much more often than Latin, evades passive expressions and would here write *ἐάν τις πονεῖ καὶ ἐάσῃ*.

Indeed *I* can scarcely

=atque ego vix.

The insertion of *ego* gives "I" emphasis="I, whatever others may do."

which is worse—the proposal itself, or the bad example set in carrying it into effect

Here *atque* expresses the transition from the general to the particular="and to come to the matter in hand."

=utrum peior ipsa res an peiore exemplo agatur.

Lit. "whether the thing itself (is) worse, or is being done with a worse precedent."

For *res* see Index. Here it means the proposal to repeal the Oppian Law. By *exemplo* is meant the bad precedent set in the behaviour of these Roman suffragettes.

The construction of *peiore exemplo* is ablative of attendant circumstances—"the precedent (being) worse."

§ 5. Of the two

the latter

the former

the proposition before you

conduces to the common weal

or not

is a question for you to determine

=quorum.

Note the relative as a connective. Thus *qui* may=*et is* or *sed is*.

=alterum.

i.e. the women's conduct.

=alterum.

i.e. the proposed repeal.

=id quod ad vos fertur.

The noun "proposition">verb, *fertur*.

=e re publica sit.

Lit. "in accordance with the public good." Compare *ex animi sententia*="in accordance with my belief," "to the best of my knowledge and belief." For *re* see Index.

=necne.

In a direct question "or not" is *annon*; in an indirect *necne*.

=vestra existimatio est.

Here *existimatio*="decision," "appraisement."

We have the verb so used at 31. 48. 5, *de causa existimare*="to pass judgement on the case."

For *vestra existimatio est qui*, where the relative *qui* has its antecedent in *vestra*, cp. Cic. *Pro Sulla*, 28. 79 and Dr Reid's note. This construction is necessary after such phrases as *mea*, *tua*, *nostra*, *vestra*, *interest*, cp. Pliny iv. 13. 4 *intererat vestra qui patres estis*.

The grammars should point out that *sua* (with *interesse*, *re-*

who are about to vote

§ 6.

ferre) can only occur in *orat. obl.* Thus we may write: *dixit sua interesse*; but "it is to his own interests" must be: *ipsius interest*. = *qui in suffragium ituri estis*.

After the *est* (present) of *existimatio est*, another present must occur in the subordinate clause; hence the periphrastic future and not *ibitis* is written.

This is an interesting paragraph and repays careful study. The parenthesis "the blame for it ...shoulders," with its principal verb "rests," is unnecessary in Latin; "rests" can become a participle, and we get—"this agitation...belonging to the fault of officials." Then the dash after the bracket and the repeated "this agitation" + "I say" is merely an English device where a sentence grows too long. All this, therefore, disappears in Latin; for case-endings make lengthy sentences clear both to reader and listener.

Next take the words: "this agitation is...a disgrace; whether a greater disgrace to you...I do not know." Latin can abbreviate this and say: "this agitation...whether it is more disgraceful to you...I do not know."

but this agitation

agitation by women

= *haec consternatio—advers. asyndeton*.

= *consternatio muliebris*.

The prepositional phrase "by women" can only be expressed by

a spontaneous effort, it may be, or
due to the influence of you,

influence

undoubtedly

the blame for it...rests on official
shoulders

(1) the genitive *mulierum* (subjective genitive), (2) an adjective, as here, (3) *a mulieribus facta, nata* or the like. See note 34. 1. 5.

=sive sua sponte sive auctoribus vobis...facta est.

Latin is more formal and precise. The noun "effort" > verb *facta est* and we get "whether of its own accord or you being responsible it was brought about."

Note that *sua* in *sua sponte* is practically always prepositive; for "his own," "their own" etc., necessarily have stress in such a phrase.

=auctoribus.

English abstract > Latin concrete, cp. 34. 1. 3 *consulibus*.

=haud dubie (for the normal Ciceronian *sine dubio*).

Livy uses *haud* freely even with verbs, provided the verb be in a principal clause or be a participle, e.g. *haud ratus*. Cicero confines the use of *haud* with a verb to the phrase *haud scio an* (with sporadic exceptions), and, in the case of adjectives and adverbs, he avoids *haud* if these be already negated or quasi-negated.

=ad culpam magistratuum pertinens, lit. "belonging to the fault of officials."

The phrase "official *shoulders*" is mere ornamentation for "officials."

whether

=*utrum* understood—Latin often omits *utrum* in indirect questions when *an* occurs.

a greater disgrace

=*magis sit deformis*.

The adverb *magis* is separated from *deformis*, probably for euphony. Or, perhaps, it is simpler to take *magis*="rather," i.e. "I do not know whether this excitement is disgraceful to you or to the consuls rather."

§ 7. the shame is yours

=*vobis*; for "shame" is just ornate variety for "disgrace," and the case-ending of *vobis* makes it easy to supply *est deformis*.

if you have gone the length of
bringing
it is ours

=*si...iam adduxistis*.

Here *iam*="really," "actually."
=*nobis*.

if, like the plebs of old, the women
are now to secede and dictate
terms

English here has adversative asyndeton. Greek would write *ὑμῖν μὲν...ἡμῖν δέ*.

=*si ut plebis quondam, sic nunc mulierum secessionem leges accipiendae sunt*.

Latin expresses the ideas, as usual, with formal preciseness—*ut* is balanced by *sic*, and *quondam* by *nunc*. Then *plebis* (prepositive) is answered by *mulierum* (also prepositive); they are the logical subjects, as if Livy had written: *si ut plebs quondam, sic nunc mulieres...leges dicant*.

Here *leges* hesitates between the two senses "laws" and "terms." For the phrase cp. 34. 57. 9 *neque dicere nec accipere leges*=neither to dictate nor submit to terms.

- § 8. Speaking for myself =equidem.
- not without a blush of shame =non sine rubore quodam.
The *quodam* = "as it were," "a kind of (blush)."
- a few moments ago =paulo ante.
English likes a more definite expression than Latin. Thus "a minute ago," "five minutes ago," "half-an-hour ago" etc. would all be "paulo ante."
- through a crowd of women =per medium agmen mulierum.
The word *agmen* suggests a certain orderliness, as of troops on the march)(*turba*. The women would be *lining* the streets.
For the order of *mulierum*, see 34. 1. 3 on *in medio ardore belli*.
- Had not =quod nisi, i.e. "but if not")(absence of connective in English.
Note that "but if" = *quod si*, or *sin* ; "but if not" = *quod nisi*, if the verb is expressed, but *sin minus*, if the verb is omitted.
- Had not respect...prevented me =quod nisi me verecundia...tenuisset.
Observe the order of *me*. It is, I believe, put forward to make us feel that it is the real subject, as if Livy had written *quod nisi ego verecundiā...tentus essem*. Thus the abstract subject to a transitive verb with a *personal object* is not felt to be harsh.
In three other passages only

does Livy use *verecundia* as subject to a transitive verb *with a personal object*, and in two the object is brought forward, viz. 6. 33. 5 inde eos ... *verecundia* deum arcuisse dicitur; 39. 49. 11 cum alios *verecundia* ... motura esset; and 24. 42. 9 where, however, the personal object follows the subject.

How instinctively the Roman read such prepositive objects as if they were subjects, may be seen in passages like 5. 6. 8 ut exercitum Romanum non taedium longinquae oppugnationis, non vis hiemis ab urbe...amovere possit nec finem ullum alium belli quam victoriam noverit. Here the change of subject at *noverit* (sc. *exercitus*) would be intolerable but for the fact that *exercitum Romanum* is read as subject at the outset.

For the prepositive object in such cases cp. 34. 12. 1 consulem nocte, quae insecuta est, anceps cura agitare, and for the whole subject see Appendix A.

= *verecundia*...*maiestatis*.

The genitive is objective. Note how English "for" > Latin "of" and compare 34. 1. 5 "every road in the city" = *omnes vias urbis*.

= *singularum*...*maiestatis*.

The genitive *singularum* is prepositive because it contains the point; Cato respected individuals,

respect *for*...*dignity*

individual *dignity*

(I had no respect for such females collectively)

§ 9. What sort of practice is this

—running out

into the public streets

but not the whole crowd. This is made still clearer by the separation of *singularum* from *maiestatis*.

=magis...quam universarum.

The parenthetic method is not necessary in Latin. It suffices to say: "Had not respect for individuals rather than for the whole mass."

Notice the anticipatory position of *magis* and observe how *maiestatis et pudoris* lies ἀπὸ κοινοῦ between *singularum* and *universarum*.

A double genitive (here *singularum...maiestatis*) should be avoided if any ambiguity is entailed.

=qui hic mos est?

At 6. 7. 3 we have the English order of the demonstrative (*qui mos est hic?*) but W. there says that the demonstrative between noun and interrogative (as here) is almost invariable in questions expressing astonishment.

The context gives *mos* a bad colour, i.e. = "bad habit"; just as in 21. 19. 9 *quae verecundia* = what want of modesty. See *iura*, 34. 3. 1.

=procurrendi.

Note how the dash is translated by a defining genitive.

=in publicum.

Observe the chiasmic order: *obsidendi vias et viros...appellandi*.

Latin affects such devices in a series of parallel constructions, cp. Cic. *N. D.* 2. 98 quoted in Postgate's *Sermo Latinus*, p. 52, § 61.

Note also how the three gerundives are connected by *et*, and contrast the one "and" of English. = *istud ipsum suos quaeque domi rogare non potuistis?*

Could not each of you have made this very request to your own lords and in the home?

Notice first the pronominal case-relations all grouped together — *istud ipsum suos quaeque*. When a Roman hears these words he has got the gist of the whole sentence. To him it means: "as for this very thing her own people are the proper object (*suos* is objective case) for each woman."

Take a simple instance: *illum tu...accusas?* The Roman, hearing *illum tu*, knows by the case-endings, that "he" (*illum*) is the *object* of "your" (*tu*) action, and he needs no definite verb to make the situation intelligible. Hence the brevity of Roman proverbs, e.g. *sus Minervam* i.e. the pig does something to Minerva, as the case-endings show. English, in a catalogue of pictures, for instance, can say: "Minerva and the pig," but we should have to see the picture before we could tell whether Minerva suffered from the teaching of the pig or *vice versa*.

Sometimes a preposition makes

such brevity possible to English as in "Coals to Newcastle."

For Latin compare Cic. *Phil.* ii. 29. 74 Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? (sc. accipit?), and such instances as Cic. *Off.* 3. 22. 86 hunc Fabricius reducendum curavit, and *T. D.* 5. 39. 115 *Polyphemum Homerus...cum ariete colloquentem fecit.*

made this very request

=istud ipsum...rogare.

The English noun "request" > Latin verb *rogare*.

The pronoun *istud* contains a sneer—"this precious request of yours."

§ 10. Or

= An.

This use of *an*=ἀνα μή, ἀνα οὐ; is common in questions. Here we can readily supply *utrum* with the preceding question *istud...rogare non potuistis?*

But very often there is no preceding question, and *an* becomes merely a conventional particle with which to introduce a question.

in public

=in publico despite *in publicum* § 9)(variety of English. For the neuter adjective of 2nd Decl. type = noun, cp. *in privato* below and English "From the blue," "Out of the wet."

to strangers

=*alienis*, despite *alienos* § 9)(variety of English. The case of *alienis* is dat. of person interested or of person judging.

And yet

=quamquam = καίτοι.

even in the home...it would have
been seemly for you to care no-
thing.

=ne domi quidem vos...curare
decuit.

This is a striking instance of
the Latin negative brought for-
ward)(the position of the nega-
tive in English.

For "it would have been seemly
to care"=curare decuit, see Roby
§ 1520.

=si...matronas contineret pudor.

Observe the order of *matronas*,
put early as logical subject. See
on 34. 2. 8 nisi me verecundia...
tenuisset.

Livy uses the noun *pudor* eleven
times as subject to a transitive
verb with a *personal* object. In
five of these cases *pudor* precedes
the object (2. 10. 9; 6. 24. 7; 21,
16. 2; 23. 18. 9; 39. 31. 9); and in
six the object (as here) precedes
pudor (2. 10. 6; 3. 63. 3; 9. 34. 22;
34. 2. 10 and 2. 45. 5 multitudini
...pudor pectora versare et ab
intestinis avertere malis, where
multitudini...pectora = *multitudi-*
nem). See also Appendix A.

Note *pudor* immediately fol-
lowing the verb. Livy is very
fond of a single word (especially
an iambus) after the verb, whether
of the principal or the subordinate
clause.

=sui iuris finibus.

Here *sui* (emphatic because
prepositive) refers, as commonly,
to the *object* of the verb in whose
cause it stands. But *matronas*

if married women were restrained
by modesty

within the bounds of their due
rights

by its position is logical subject and the construction is more easy than usual.

For the construction with *continere* see 34. 1. 5 on *contineri limine*.
= *curare decuit*.

After the imperfect *contineret* one might have expected *decebat*; but, possibly, Livy is avoiding the verse rhythm—| *ārē dēc* | *ēbāt* | at the end of the sentence.

The words *curare decuit* are an analysed form of *curavisses*, i.e. "one should have cared"—the apodosis of *si...contineret*. So *fecisset* ("he would have done") may approach (1) "he could have done" and then be expressed by *facere potuit*, or (2) "he should have done" and then be expressed by *facere debuit*, *eum facere decuit*.

Similarly, approximate equivalents of *faceret* ("he would have been doing") are *facere poterat* ("could have been doing"), *facere debebat*, *eum facere decebat* ("should have been doing"). See Roby, Part II. § 1520.

what laws *are* passed

= *quae leges...rogarentur*.

English here could say either "are" or "were"; Latin can only say the latter in view of the past tenses *contineret* and *decuit*. English says: "Then Catiline showed how powerful is (or "was") the influence of conscience," but after the past tense "showed," Latin can say only: *tum...Cati-*

or rejected

lina..., *quanta conscientiae vis esset* (never *sit*), *ostendit* (Cic. *Cat.* 3. 5). See M. p. 338 § 383.

= *abrogarenturve*. Here *ve* is synonymous with *que*. See 34. 1. 4 on "in support or opposition."

§ 11. Our forefathers..., *but*
we

= *maiores nostri...*; *nos...*

Note the adversative asyndeton of Latin. Greek would have *οἱ μὲν δὴ πατέρες...ἡμεῖς δέ*.

transact...business

= *rem agere*.

not...any business, even of a private nature

For *res* see Index.

= *nullam, ne privatam quidem rem*.

An original negative (here *nullam*) is regularly emphasised by *ne—quidem*, where English more often says "even." See 34. 1. 5 note (p. 38).

without the authority of a guardian

= *sine tutore auctore*.

i.e. English abstract ("authority") > Latin concrete (*auctore*).

For the sound cp. Cic. *Pro Sex. Rosc.* § 110 *isto hortatore, auctore, intercessore*.

they were to be

It is just possible that in *tutore auctore* we have an old legal bimembral asyndeton, cp. *ruta caesa* = "minerals and timber." See M. § 434.

= [*feminas...voluerunt...esse*] understood. Latin merely supplies *voluerunt* with adversative asyndeton i.e. [they wished them to transact no business...], *but* wished them etc. Contrast the variety of English. See 34. 1. 5 note on "They besieged every road."

of parents, brother, *or* husband

=parentium, fratrum, virorum.

No connectives in Latin)(English and see 34. 1. 4 on "*and* the Capitol."

forsooth

=si diis placet.

This phrase is often equivalent to an exclamation of disgust, cp. English: "but we, *if you please*..." See Donatus on Ter. *Eun.* 919, and compare Cic. *Pro Sex. Rosc.* § 102. The phrase is frequent in Livy cp. 4. 3. 9; 6. 40. 7; 34. 32. 17; 39. 28. 5, etc.

to appear in the forum

=et foro quoque...(immisceri).

Latin can wait for the verb; English requires one immediately. The combination *et...quoque*="and...also" appears first in Livy, and is not common. [Neither Caesar nor Sallust has it. It is read by some editors twice in Cicero, and appears once in Plautus. See Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* § 313, p. 33.]

and to join in meetings and elections

=et contionibus et comitiis immisceri.

§ 12. What are they doing... but supporting

=quid...aliud...faciunt, quam...suadent?

Often, in this and similar phrases, the *facere* is omitted, as at 34. 46. 7 nihil aliud quam steterunt parati ad pugnandum=they *did* nothing but draw themselves up in readiness for battle. So in Greek οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἤ=only.

of the tribunes

For *suadent* see 34. 1. 4.
=tribunorum plebi.

For *plebi* see 34. 1. 2.

and voting

=quam...censent.

§ 13. free rein

Latin loves such rhetorical anaphora, cp. 3. 32. 2 "a famine destructive to man and beast alike" = fames...foeda homini, foeda pecori.

that knows no control

= frenos — from *frenum*, whose plural in prose is *freni*, whereas *frena* is mostly poetical.

=impotenti=Aristotle's ἀκπαής.

will set

The adjectives *impotenti* and *indomito* are prepositive for emphasis; one does not give rein to a fiery and untamed steed.

=facturas.

Note the frequent (in Livy) omission of *esse* with the future infinitive.

extravagance of liberty

At 4. 24. 4 we have *modum imponere*.

=licentiae.

Lit. "doing as you please" (*quodcumque licet* = whatever is open to one).

Observe the repetition of *licentia* in § 14 = "licence," and 3. 1 = "wilfulness." Contrast the variety of English.

§ 14. But unless

=nisi=quod nisi.

i.e. an adversative asyndeton. See on 34. 1. 5 "They besieged every road."

you

=vos.

The pronoun is inserted because emphatic.

set such a limit

=facietis.

Latin easily supplies *modum*. Some editors read *feceritis* (fut.

of the disabilities

perf.). In any case a future is necessary, for an apodosis in future time must be supplied. In full the sentence would run: "unless you do it yourselves (there will be trouble, for) this is" etc.

=*eorum*.

A loose neuter pronoun or adjective will often translate the more specific expression in English. Compare 34. 3. 1 "with all these restraints"=*quibus omnibus constrictas* and 34. 3. 2 "privileges one by one"=*singula*.

imposed by custom or by law

Note the anticipatory position of *eorum* before *est*.

=*aut moribus aut legibus iniuncta*.

Latin almost always inserts the anticipatory "either." English is not so formal. Note that *aut... aut* leaves us no other choice; it is a case of one or the other alternative. But *vel moribus vel legibus* would mean "custom or law or anything else."

under which women chafe

=*quae iniquo animo feminae... patiuntur*.

The words *iniquo animo* (cp. *aequo animo*=with equanimity) are more picturesque than the conventional *aegre, facile, pati, ferre*. They get stress by separation from *patiuntur*: women endure the burden, but under protest—they "kick against the goad."

Liberty in all things

=*omnium rerum libertatem*.

Observe that there is no con-

nective. Cicero would, almost certainly have begun with *denique*="in fine."

The genitive *omnium rerum*, being prepositive, has stress: *universal* liberty is their aim.

= *omnium rerum*.

For genitive of Latin to represent prepositional phrase of English, see on 34. 1. 5 "in the city"=*urbis*.

= *si vere dicere volumus*.

At 41. 23. 13 we find *si vere volumus dicere*, where *vere* separated from its verb *dicere* gains stress and represents "plain truth," "the whole truth and nothing but the truth."

= *desiderant*.

In such phrases as "It is licence which they desire," "Licence is what they desire," we see a cumbersome English method of expressing emphasis. Latin achieves the same result by order. Here *libertatem...licentiam* are brought to the front and separated from their verb by *si vere... volumus*.

in all things

to speak plain truth

is what they desire

CHAPTER III

§ 1. if they carry this position =si hoc expugnaverint.

A frequent metaphor. The object of *expugnare* is always some obstacle which you desire to overcome, an enemy whom you desire to dislodge, cp. 1. 58. 5 "He had stormed the citadel of a woman's honour"=*expugnato decore muliebri*; 6. 18. 2 "The plebs conceived hopes of being able to abolish usury"=*plebs spem cepit ...faenoris expugnandi*; 9. 26. 16 "They used every effort to close the commission" = *expugnare quaestiones omni ope adnisi sunt*. =quid enim...non temptabunt?

and...they will stop at nothing

A negative statement may be expressed both in Latin and Greek rhetoric by a question. Thus "No one, surely, would make such an admission"=*quis enim fateatur talia?* ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν τὰ γε τοιαῦτα ὁμολογοίη;

Review women's rights and all the limitations...

=*recensete omnia muliebria iura*.

Note the absence of connective in rhetoric.

Here *iura*="limited rights," just as *mos* in 34. 2. 9="bad custom."

by which...and through which

=*quibus...per quaeque*.

For the "Livian variety" cp. Pref. § 9. "I would have each give his undivided attention to... the deeds of great men, to the qualities in war and peace which won the empire"=*ad illa mihi*

pro se quisque intendat animum...
per quos viros quibusque artibus
domi militiaeque partum impe-
rium sit ; 2. 24. 5 per metum potius
quam voluntate ; 2. 42. 10 nunc
extis, nunc per aves.

For *per quaeque*=*et per quae*
cp. 24. 24. 8 singula...*quae* per
quosque agerentur...ante oculos
posuit, and Cic. *De Off.* 1. 35. 126
ut probemur iis quibuscum apud
quosque vivamus.

Before *Livy que* is never joined
to a preposition, except where the
same preposition has preceded, e.g.
Cic. *Verr.* iv. 61. 115 in religione
inque iis sacris.

they subjected them to their
husbands

=subiecerint viris.

The object *eas* is easily sup-
plied out of *earum* *.

Note *virīs*—a single word after
the verb, preferably an iambus.
This is a favourite Livian order.

and yet with all these restraints

=quibus omnibus constrictas.

Here *quibus*=*sed tamen his*.
The relative as a connective may
= *et is*, or *sed is*, *is tamen*, *sed*
tamen is.

Note that *quibus* is neuter.
Cicero would, preferably, write
quibus rebus, for, with him, the
forms which might be masculine
or neuter are almost always mas-
culine.

The noun "restraints" > verb
constrictas i.e. the abstract idea

* Ussing reads *per quae eas*.

keep them in check.

§ 2. Furthermore

privileges one by one

wrest from you

in the end allowing equality with
men

is expressed concretely. For the loose neuter *quibus* representing the specific idea of English, see 34. 2. 14 on "of the disabilities" = *eorum*.

The participle *constrictas* is concessive as *vix tamen* shows.
= continērē pōtēstīs.

Observe the hexameter ending.
Livius is guilty of it at times.
= *quid?* So in Greek rhetoric
τὶ γάρ; τὶ δέ;
= *singula*.

For the loose neuter plural to represent the specific noun of English see on 34. 2. 14 "of the disabilities" = *eorum*.

The word *singula* is in ἀπὸ κοινοῦ position between *carpere* and *extorquere*.
= *extorquere*.

Latin leaves pronominal relations to be understood: English must insert the pronoun.
= *et aequari ad extremum viris patiemi*.

Observe the variety of English. The sentence begins: "if you suffer them to pluck and to wrest," and Latin, with its love of parallel construction, is content to continue: "and (suffer them) to be made equal to men in the end." English, however, would find this monotonous, and shifts to the participle, varying "suffer" by "allowing."

Note how the noun "equality"

think you that you will find them
endurable?

> verb *aequari*. This verb is
put early for stress.

=tolerabiles vobis eas fore cre-
ditis?

The apodosis of *si...patiemini*
is *fore*, as if Livy had written
tolerabiles vobis (num sic creditis?)
eae erunt?

Since *creditis* comes last, it
probably has stress = "do you
really believe?"; for verbs of
saying, knowing, thinking, show-
ing, etc. come early unless em-
phatic.

The dative *vobis* is almost the
so-called ethical dative. This is
a particular case of the dative "of
the person interested" i.e. "of the
person whose *feelings* are inte-
rested." Thus "you will find the
whole place ablaze" = *tibi arde-
bunt omnia*.

= *exemplo, simul...coeperint*.

The "No" is translated by
adversative asyndeton. The pre-
vious question: "think you that
you will find them...?" = "You will
certainly not find them..."; then
"but" is the natural connective,
which is here expressed by the
asyndeton.

For *exemplo, simul...coeperint,*
...erunt, where *exemplo* has stress
by separation from *erunt*, and
simul, as so often, = *simul ac*, cp.
23. 29. 14 *simul...inclinatam...
aciem...videre, exemplo...cornua
deseruere*.

No, the instant they begin

§ 3. But, we are told

they take exception to a new measure directed against them

is the object of their protest

§ 4. Nay rather, they demand that

=at hercule.

This is the equivalent of ἀλλὰ νῦν Δία, and more picturesque than *at* or *at enim* in the same meaning. =ne quid novum in eas rogetur recusant.

The adjective *novum* probably has a touch also of "monstrous," "unheard of," as in Horace's *nova monstra*. Remember that *novus* = "never before existent") (*anti-quus* = "existent in the past"; while *recens* = "newly existent") (*vetus* = "existent from of old," "long existent."

Livy writes *in eas* not the normal *in se*, because the imaginary speaker, implied in *at hercule*, is giving *his* view of their protest. The independent form is "No new laws are to be made against *them*" not "...made against *us*."

=deprecantur.

The words "is the object of" are translated by the objective case, and the noun "protest" > the verb.

Note that *ius* = the whole body of enactments = *leges*.

=immo ut....

A simpler form of sentence would be *non ius deprecantur, sed ut...legem abrogetis*. Then after *sed* a verb of positive meaning, e.g. *postulant*, must be supplied out of the negative *deprecantur* = *habere nolunt*. The idiom is com-

mon in Greek e.g. οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' (sc. ἔφη) ἐκείνον στρατηγεῖν. So English, "No one laughs but cries on such occasions" i.e. "but every one cries"; cf. Plato, *Prot.* 323 D οὐδεὶς θυμοῦται...ἀλλὰ (sc. πάντες) ἐλεοῦσι.

The construction has hardly received the attention which it deserves in Latin. A striking instance is Livy 3. 19. 3 "no one of whom was inferior to Caeso in greatness of heart, and *all of whom* were superior to him because they showed a politic moderation" = quorum nemo Caesoni cedebat magnitudine animi, consilium et modum adhibendo...priores erant. Here there is adversative asyndeton before *consilium*, and we supply *sed omnes* out of the preceding *nemo*.

An easier case is 3. 48. 1 where after *sed* we supply *dicit* out of the preceding *negat*.

Other examples are Cic. *De Off.* 3. 2. 9, *De Fin.* 1. 51; Verg. *Aen.* 1. 674, 5; Lucr. 4. 611; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1. 3; Tac. *Hist.* 2. 52 ad fin., and Livy 3. 37. 3.

that you should repeal a measure
which...you have accepted

=ut quam accepistis...legem,...
hanc abrogetis.

English prefers the antecedent before the relative, but Latin affects, like Greek, the form: "Who steals my purse, (he) steals trash," qui crumenam meam furatur, is (hic) furatur scruta, ὅστις

ἀν τὸ ἐμὸν βαλλάντιον κλέψῃ, οὗτος κλέπτει ῥῶπον.

Here, owing to the lengthy clauses which intervene, the *ut* is repeated before *abrogetis*. W. quotes a large number of examples at 22. 11. 4.

=accepistis iussistis.

Note the bi-membral asyndeton, as often in parliamentary and legal phrases. See M. § 434.

The four consecutive words ending in *-is* (accepistis iussistis suffragiis vestris) are noticeable.

=(legem) quam usu tot annorum et experiendo comprobastis.

English freely uses abstract nouns as subjects to transitive verbs: Latin, or, to be more exact, the Latin of examinations, avoids the construction (but see Appendix A) unless the object also is abstract or non-personal.

The English idiom may almost always be turned by making the subject ablative. Thus at 3. 62. 2 "The bravery of the soldiers won the victory" = virtute militum victoria parta est, where the logical subject, *virtute*, comes first, while the grammatical subject, *victoria*, takes a humble place.

Livy not seldom follows the English idiom in using an abstract subject to a transitive verb with a personal object, but in about 50 per cent. of the cases he brings forward the logical subject, cp. *Pref.* § 11 "I

accepted and enacted

(a measure) which the use and experience of so many years have stamped with your approval

stamped with your approval

am deceived by affection for the work"=me amor negotii...fallit. See Appendix A.

=comprobastis.

The noun "approval" > the verb. The metaphor "stamped with" is dead, and is neither deserving nor capable of reproduction in Latin.

=id est.

in fact

they ask you to...weaken

=ut...infirmetis.

Here "they ask" is mere English variety for the previous "they demand": Latin needs no such device and easily supplies the original verb.

to abolish one law and so weaken

=ut unam tollendo legem...infirmetis.

The gerund *tollendo*=a Greek instrumental participle, e.g. ἀπολείσαντες.

Observe how *unam* has stress by separation, thus preparing us for the antithesis *ceteras*. Latin loves such artificial contrasts.

§ 5. But no enactment

=nulla lex.

Observe there is no connective. Note the repetition of *lex*= "enactment," after *legem*= "measure," and *legem*= "law" in § 5. Contrast the variety of English.

acceptable

=satis commoda.

the only question raised is

Here *satis*=English "quite."

=id modo quaeritur.

Note (1) the adversative asyndeton after preceding negative; (2) the anticipatory *id*; (3) how the noun "question" > a verb.

“Does it benefit the majority?”

=si maiori parti...prodest.

Madvig, *Emend. Liv.* p. 495 reads *prosit*. But the indicative seems to be colloquial, cp. Ter. *Eun.* 3. 4. 7 *visam si domi est*, and see Roby § 1761. (Compare also Livy 3. 21. 4 *mirer...si vana vestra...auctoritas est*.)

Elsewhere, but always with the subjunctive, Livy uses *si* = *num* or *-ne* after verbs of asking, cp. 29. 25. 8 *quaesivit si*; 33. 35. 3 and 36. 33. 1 *percunctatus si*; 39. 50. 7 *quaesisse si*; 40. 49. 6 *quaesivit si*.

“Is it, in the main, of advantage?”

=et in summam prodest.

Note the variety of English “does it benefit?” “Is it...of advantage?” Latin is satisfied with one verb *prodest*.

An individual may be...offended by some legislation: is he therefore to pull it down...? If so, what is the good...?

=si, quod cuique...officiet ius, id destruet..., quid attinebit...?

First contrast the separate sentences of English with the formal subordination of Latin. For instance we write: “I am tired *and therefore* want to go”: Latin says: *quod defessus sum, idcirco volo discedere*. An interesting case is 44. 37. 7 “The rising and setting of sun or moon happened regularly, *and therefore* they were not surprised...; *so now*, even though the light of the latter was withheld..., they need not count it a miracle” =itaque QUEMADMODUM, *quia* certi solis lunaeque et ortus et occasus sint,...non mirarentur, ITA ne ob-

scurari, quidem (lunam)...trahere in prodigium debere.

Next note that there is no connective before *si*. Observe too the relative *quod* picked up by the demonstrative *id*, and see 34. 3. 4 on "that you should repeal a measure which...."

Note also *ius*—a single word after the verb, as so often.

Further, since "is he to pull down" is expressed by the future, therefore the apodosis is future also, and Latin must write "what *will be* the good?"

Lastly English says: "If each is to pull down...the legislation which offends him," i.e. "each" is placed in the principal clause, whereas Latin puts "each" in the subordinate clause. So we say: "Each came down by the nearest path," but Latin says (22. 4. 6) milites qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt.

what is the good of the community's passing laws

=quid attinebit universos rogare leges.

Community = *universos* = *cunctos* = *σύνπαντας* = all taken together)
(the individual = *cuique*.

which can...be rescinded by those against whom they were directed

The verb *rogare* is early to prepare for the antithesis *abrogare*. = quas...abrogare, in quos latae sunt, possint.

The subject of *possint* is the antecedent of *in quos*, as if Livy had written: quas in quos latae sunt ii possint abrogare. But

abrogare is put early with stress to answer the preceding *rogare*.

Here *quas=tales ut* and the consecutive subjunctive follows.
=*quid sit propter quod*.

Lit. "What it is on account of which." The *propter quod=tale ut*, "so serious that"—hence the consecutive subjunctive *procucurrerint*.

Compounds of *curro* make the perfect *-curri* or *-cucurri*; but *suc-curro* makes *succurri* only, and *praecurro* only *praecucurri*.
=*consternatae*.

Greek would write ἐκείνο μέντοι βουλοίμην ἂν γινώσκειν διὰ τὴ ἐπτοημέναι ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς φέρονται αἱ γυναῖκες.
=*in publicum*.

See on 34. 2. 10. Here *in publicum* is put after the verb for emphasis.

=*ac vix foro se et contione abstineant*.

Note English variety—the change to a participle; Latin persists with the same form of sentence.

Livy usually omits *a* when *abstinere* is transitive (an exception is 34. 35. 10) and inserts *a* when *abstinere* is intransitive.

Note how *se* is in ἀπὸ κοινοῦ position between *foro* and *contione*.

=*ut...redimantur*.

Latin order groups together

§ 6. why it is that

hysterically

into the public streets

all but invading forum and assembly

§ 7. Is it to redeem

brothers

early the important words. The first thing we hear is *captivi ab Hannibale*, i.e. "Is it a case of prisoners of war and Hannibal?"
= *fratres earum*.

Far is and far for ever be

The point of view is Cato's; otherwise in a final clause we should require *sui* (nom. pl.) with *fratres*. Compare *eas* in § 3.
= *procul abest absitque semper*.

from our country

Observe there is no connective.
= *rei publicae*.

Yet, when such misfortune did
come, you refused

Like *civitas*, the word suggests an ordered community: *patria* would have been merely emotional, as in "King and country."
= *sed tamen, cum fuit, negastis*.

Observe *fuit* for the normal *erat*. Ordinarily when the principal clause is past, we get in the subordinate clause (1) past imperfect (imperfect) if the action or state is contemporaneous with the action or state of the principal clause, (2) past perfect (pluperfect) if the action or state is antecedent to the action or state of the principal clause.

The great exceptions are (1) the aorist perfect after *ut* and *ubi* (=when), *antequam*, *priusquam*, *postquam*, *cum primum*, *ut primum*, *simul ac*, *dum* (=until); (2) the fact that, when the *cum* clause follows the principal (*cum* = *et eodem tempore*), any tense of the indicative required by the context may occur. Thus there is nothing

out of the way in the following nine cases quoted by W. viz. 5. 49. 8, 5. 52. 3, 6. 8. 6, 8. 33. 10, 9. 34. 9, 10. 8. 3, 34. 31. 15, 44. 22. 2, 45. 39. 1.

Livy, however, has a considerable number of instances of the aorist perfect with *cum* = "at the time when" or = *cum primum*. I have noted the following: 1. 41. 7, 2. 40. 7, 2. 51. 1, 3. 14. 4, 4. 44. 10, 4. 60. 8, 6. 20. 4, 21. 39. 4, 23. 20. 5, 23. 49. 5, 29. 37. 8 (Madvig emends), 29. 37. 10, 34. 5. 10, 34. 16. 7, 39. 38. 1, 42. 66. 1, 45. 12. 10 (two cases, one of which Madv. emends), 45. 34. 10. Compare Cic. *De Or.* 2. 59. 242 *cum dixit... risimus*.

These are genuine cases; but we must distinguish those where the *cum* clause or relative clause bears no time relation to the principal clause, and is, in fact, a mere date, as it were, or description in a parenthesis, cp. 1. 25. 8, 7. 16. 2, 8. 8. 1, 9. 25. 2, 21. 48. 7, 22. 14. 12, 23. 19. 17, 23. 15. 5, 24. 16. 19, 25. 38. 11, 45. 38. 4, 45. 41. 5.

A few relative clauses are found where the aorist perfect occurs for the normal imperfect or pluperfect, cp. 1. 49. 7 *cum quibus voluit...societates fecit*; 8. 17. 4 *quia pestilentia insecuta est...res ad interregnum rediit*; 9. 38. 3 *quae superfuit cladi... multitudo ad naves compulsa est*

(but in 8. 11. 5 we have the normal *superfuerant*); 22. 4. 6 *qui ubi, quacuique proximum fuit, decurrerunt*; 35. 30. 10 *Lacedaemonii, quoad lucis superfuit quidquam, ... recipiebant se*. At 25. 29. 9 the reading is doubtful.

For other anomalies see W. on 1. 1. 1 and Appendix B.

=*negastis hoc*.

The neuter *hoc* translates the specific noun of English.

=*piis precibus earum*.

The words *pius, pietas* etc. used of wives and children imply loyal and dutiful affection; used of the citizen they imply what we call patriotism.

Observe how the sentence is grammatically complete at *negastis*=you refused. The result is that the remaining words gain stress—"even this—to dutiful prayers—of women like those." The whole is a crescendo. The women of to-day (Cato suggests) make a trivial request; they are neither loyal nor dutiful. Livy writes *piis precibus earum* for the normal *piis earum precibus* in order that *earum* (the women of the past) may re-echo the *earum* of the previous sentence (the women of Cato's day). Compare 34. 1. 6 *augebatur haec frequentia mulierum in dies*.

=*at*=*at enim*=*ἀλλὰ νῦν Δία*="but it may be said."

refused this boon

to their prayers of love and patriotism

§ 8. But perhaps

it is not love or anxiety

=non pietas nec sollicitudo.

anxiety for their dear ones

Note *non...nec* = οὐ...οὐδέ.

=sollicitudo pro suis.

it is not love...that has gathered them

For the prepositional phrase qualifying a noun see note on 34. 1. 5 *aditusque in forum*.

=non pietas...congregavit eas.

Latin has no such cumbersome method of expressing emphasis as "it is not love...that."

Note the bold personification of *pietas...sollicitudo...religio* made subjects to a transitive verb with a personal object. Livy so uses *religio* 12 times and in 8 of these instances the object is brought forward to occupy the place of the subject. See note on 34. 2. 8 *nisi me verecundia...tenuisset* and Appendix A.

on Her way
from Pessinus *in* Phrygia

Observe *ēās*: a single word after the verb, especially an iambus, is a favourite order with Livy.

=venientem, i.e. the noun > verb.

=a Pessinunte *ex* Phrygia.

So "to Rome in Italy" = *Romam in Italiam*.

No? Then what...?

This cult of Cybele was introduced into Rome in B.C. 205, in obedience to an injunction contained in the Sibylline Books.

=quid?

what...plea...is put forward to excuse

The words "No? Then," need no representation in Latin.

=quid...praetenditur.

The noun "plea" is represented by the neuter pronoun + the verb.

what honourable plea, honourable
at least in word

Lit. "What is stretched as a cover
in front of."

=quid honestum dictu saltem.

Note the "postpositive" ad-
verb. Thus *saltem* acquires stress,
i.e. in word at any rate, if not in
deed and fact, λόγῳ μὲν (οὐκ ἔργῳ δέ).

For *dictu* see 34. 1. 1 *parva*
dictu. Observe that *honestus*=
honourable)(*probus*=honest.

of our women

=muliebri.

Note the emphatic separation
from *seditioni* and how *muliebri*
comes last—*seditioni praetenditur*
muliebri. Sedition (στράσις) is the
business of men (*virilis*), not of
women.

Such adjectives as *muliebris*,
puerilis, *virilis*, *hostilis*, generic-
ally used, are common at all
periods of Latin, where we say
"of a woman," "of a boy," "of
a man," "of an enemy."

§ 9. The reply comes

=inquit.

For this *inquit* with obscure
subject cp. 6. 40. 8 and *passim*;
and compare *aiebat* at 34. 7. 5.

We wish to glitter

=ut...fulgamus.

Weissenborn supplies *procucur-*
rimus out of § 6. May we not
supply *oramus*, or the like, out of
quid...praetenditur? Note the ar-
chaic *fulgere*. The ablatives *auro*
and *purpura* are ablatives of the
means.

every day, festival or no festival

=festis profestisque diebus.

The adjective *profestis* (=non-
festival) is formed on the analogy

to ride...to be carried...

as if in triumph

over a law

over your votes

taken captive out of your hands

In fine, we ask that no limit should
be set

or to voluptuousness

of *profanus* (=non-sacred, lit. "in front of the *fanum*" = ὁσῖος).

=ut...vectemur.

English requires a verb early and repeats the idea with meaningless variation: one verb suffices in Latin. The word *vectari* is a frequentative of *vehere* and therefore = "be continually carried." So *gerere* = "to bear": *gestare* = "to wear."

=velut triumphantes.

The noun of English > verb of Latin. Cicero and Caesar use only *ut* and *quasi* with participles: Livy introduces *velut* and *tamquam* (ὥς, ὥσπερ), as well as *quippe*, *utpote* (ὥς, ἄτε + causal participle), and *quanquam* (καί, καίπερ + concessive participle).

=de lege.

=et...suffragiis vestris.

Latin either inserts the connective, as here, or rhetorically repeats the *de*.

=captis et ereptis.

Note the elaborate chiasmus—*de lege victa...et...ereptis suffragiis*.

=ne ullus modus...sit.

The more florid rhetoric of Cicero would require: *illud denique oramus et obsecramus ne....*

=ne luxuriae (sit).

Observe the rhetorical repetition of *ne*. In strictness *luxuria* = "tendency to indulgence," while *luxus* = "the indulgence itself." See Livy, *Pref.* §§ 11, 12.

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. You have often heard me
complain about the expenses of
women

and of men no less

§ 2. you have often heard me
say that...

two opposite vices...are endanger-
ing the state

=saepe me querentem de femina-
rum...sumptibus audistis.

Observe the prepositive geni-
tive: its stress tells us that an
antithesis (*virorum*) is coming. A
Roman would read it as if it ran:
"complain about women...and
their expenses."

=saepe de virorum...sumptibus.

Note the rhetorical repetition
of *saepe de*)(the variety of
English: "and...no less."

=...que.

Latin has another "and" (*que*),
but "and's" are growing mono-
tonous in English (we have not the
same choice—*et, atque, que*), and a
rhetorical repetition of "You have
often heard me" with *variety* of
"say that" for "complain that"
is less tedious to us.

=diversis...duobus vitiis...civita-
tem laborare.

A Roman, in reading this,
would scarcely fail to supply *de*
with *diversis...vitiis*; then on
reaching *civitatem laborare* he
would, as it were, supply the
plain causal ablative with *la-
borare*.

The interesting word is "op-
posite" (sc. but equally fatal);
hence *diversis* is prepositive. Livy

curses which

have proved the ruin of

§ 3. And this is what frightens me; for the happier...our country...—the more do I dread the situation, and fear that...

mentions the same two vices in *Pref.* § 11.

=quae pestes.

Latin draws the antecedent into the relative clause, as regularly in such expressions as "all of whom he killed" = quos omnes necavit.

=everterunt.

The noun of English > verb of Latin. Greek would use the aorist —πολλάκις ἤδη ἀπώλεσαν.

=haec ego, quo melior...fortuna rei publicae est...eo plus horreo, ne...

Here Latin begins with case relations grouped together. (This is especially common with pronouns.)

The words *haec ego* at once tell us that we are concerned with these modern (*haec*) vices (for *haec* cp. *Pref.* § 9, *haec tempora* = "these modern days"), that they are the *objects* of ego's solicitous attention. Latin requires nothing more: the verb can wait. English, however, must have a verb at once.

Livy begins as if he were going to write *haec ego...horreo*, but the long parenthesis has suggested new thoughts. Cato's mind is now full of the imperial expansion which has introduced *haec vitia*; and imperial expansion with its evil consequences (*illae res*) causes the addition of the subordinate clause *ne illae...res nos ceperint*. Thus

haec acquires a new colour and means "the situation in general." The specific noun of English ("situation") is represented by the loose neuter plural of Latin.

=quo melior...fortuna rei publicae est.

Lit. "by what measure the fortune of the state is better." The relative *quo* is an ablative of measure of difference and, later on, is picked up by *eo*.

In such phrases we often omit the copula, either in the first clause only (as here) or in both. Latin can omit the copula if it is common to both clauses, e.g. "The more, the merrier" = quo plures, eo hilariores.

The English "the" in such comparative phrases is the old instrumental case of the article. =imperiumque (in dies) crescit.

Thus, as so often, the noun ("increase") > verb, and the adjective ("daily") > adverb.

The comparative idea lurks in *crescit* = *maius fit*, and Livy's Latin is succinct for *quōque maius in dies fit imperium*.

In Latin the whole runs more freely with *in dies* in the first sentence, close to the comparatives *melior laetiorque*; then *in dies* is easily supplied with *crescit*.

Remember that *in dies* almost always occurs with comparative notions)(*cotidie*. The phrase *in*

the happier...our country

and the greater the daily increase
of our empire

dies = *in singulos dies*, i.e. for each day. Compare *in praesens* (for the present) and *in singulos annos* = yearly (Cic. *Att.* 6. 3. 5).

already

= *et iam*.

We have only one word for "and": Latin has *et*, *que*, *atque*, and can conceal monotony under *nec* and *neve*. Except for such monotony, English here could say "and," in the sense of "indeed."

Asia Minor

= *Asiam*.

both richly stored with every incentive to voluptuousness

= *omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas*.

Observe that these words *follow* the verb and thereby have emphasis: the sentence is *constructionally* complete at *transcendimus*, and anything that follows gains stress.

every

= *omnibus*.

Possibly = *παντοῖος* = *omnis generis*—a not uncommon sense of *omnis*. So Greek sometimes uses *πᾶς* for *παντοῖος* as in Herodotus 1. 50. 2, 4. 88. 3, and 9. 81. 14. Compare too 1 *Tim.* 6. 10, *ρίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία*.

incentive to voluptuousness

= *libidinum illecebris*.

For the genitive, see 34. 1. 5 on "in the city" = *urbis*.

Note the order (1) adjective *omnibus*, (2) complement *libidinum*, (3) noun *illecebris*. The position of (2) is invariable; but (1) and (3) may interchange. Contrast English order.

voluptuousness

=libidinum.

For the plural=instances of luxuriousness, see 34. 1. 1 on *studiis* (p. 29).

may, our hands covet the treasures
of eastern potentates

=et regias etiam adtrectamus gazas.

Note the emphatic order of *regias*, prepositive and separated from its noun.

The words *rex*, *regnum*, *regius* are words of abomination to the republican Roman, and suggest the luxurious despots of the East ruling over servile subjects. Observe *gazas*, a single word after the verb. Cicero uses *gaza* in the singular only. The word is Persian.

Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* p. 32, § 313, quotes seven instances of *et...etiam* in Livy. This passage should be added. In Cicero *et...etiam* is not infrequent.

the more do I dread the situation,
and fear that

=haec ego...eo plus horreo.

Two verbs are necessary in English, but, as explained above, Latin, after the long parenthesis, easily inserts the new subject *res*.

our acquisitions

=illae...res.

have mastered us, not we them

For *res* see Index.
=ne illae magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas.

Observe the anticipatory order of *magis*. So frequently *plus...quam*, *potius...quam* etc.

Livy uses *res* as subject to a transitive verb with a *personal* object 52 times, with a *non-per-*

§ 4. Believe me

art treasures

have come like an invading army

from Syracuse

against our city

sonal object 113 times. See Appendix A.

For the expression cp. Hamerton, *Human Intercourse*, p. 135. "The big English house...masters its master, it possesses its nominal possessor."

=...mihi credite.

Livy, like Cicero, writes *mihi crede*, *mihi credite*, not *crede mihi*, *credite mihi*.

=signa.

I.e. statues, etc. There is a play on *signa inferre*=to advance the standards.

=infesta...signa...illata sunt.

Note the stress on *infesta*, prepositive and separated. These are not innocent *signa* (statues) but inimical, ready for hostile action, *signa* that are standards.

The adjective *infestus* is usually employed of things: *infensus* of feelings. Thus *infesto telo*= "with lance in rest"; *infesto agmine*= "in marching order" (as when an army passes through an enemy's territory).

In l. 7. 6 *ex loco infesto* a place is *infestus*, as we should say "uncanny," "*infested* with dangers."

=ab Syracusis.

The preposition is normal where, as here, the sense is "from the place and its neighbourhood."

=huic urbi.

These words, coming last, have

full of praise and admiration

stress. The standards have been advanced and against *us*.

= *laudantis mirantisque*.

of Corinth and of Athens

The English nouns > verbs. So below "full of mockery" = *ridentis*. Note the termination *-s* for *-es*, usually for the accusative only.

= *Corinthis et Athenarum* (ornamenta).

on the temple pediments

Note the prepositive genitives to prepare us for the chiasmic antithesis—(*antefixa*)...*deorum Romanorum*, which is put outside *antefixa fictilia* (see 34. 4. 3 on *omnibus libidinum illecebris*) to remind us of *Corinthis et Athenarum*.

= *antefixa* (sc. *tectis templorum* or the like).

Latin often uses participles with the indirect object to be supplied.

The word *antefixus* only occurs as a participle.

§ 5. But, for myself, I prefer these gods and their blessing

= *ego hos malo propitios deos*.

Observe the crowding of case-relations early—*ego hos* (cp. *ego haec* in the previous section). Indeed the sentence is constructionally complete at *malo*, and thus the prepositive *propitios* gets a double stress. The resulting effect is: "I prefer these, because they bring blessing (and not harm) and because they are gods (not mere works of art)."

Note that *ego* is inserted = "*I*, whatever others may do."

The word *propitius* is derived

and I trust that they will grant
it, if only

we suffer

to remain in their old homes

§ 6. Within the memory of
our fathers

the envoy Cineas was employed by
Pyrrhus in an attempt

from the art of the *auspices*. Its
root is *pro* + *πέρεσθαι* = "belonging
to a forward-flying bird"; hence
"favourable as an omen."

= *et ita spero futuros* (sc. *propitios*)
si....

Observe *ita* anticipatory of *si*
= "on this condition...namely
if."

= *patiemur*.

The principal clause is future;
therefore the subordinate clause
must be future also—simple future
(as here) if the action of the
clauses be contemporaneous: per-
fect future, if the action of the
subordinate clause is antecedent
to that of the principal clause.

= *in suis manere sedibus*.

Note the stress on *suis* pre-
positive and separated from its
noun. Here *suis* refers to the
subject of *manere* (i.e. *eos* under-
stood) or, if we care to put it so,
to the object of *patiemur*, viz. *eos*.
Compare 4. 33. 5 *suis flammis*
delete Fidenas.

= *patrum nostrorum memoria*, i.e.
in B.C. 280. The genitive precedes
because *patrum* is practically sub-
ject, as if "our fathers remember
how..."

The ablative *memoria* is quasi-
temporal, equivalent to "in the
time of."

= *per legatum Cineam Pyrrhus*...
temptavit.

Here *per* expresses the agent,

in an attempt to bribe

cp. δι' ἀγγέλου. Cineas was sent to Rome B.C. 280.

=...donis temptavit.

The noun "attempt" > verb.

For the phrase cp. χρήμασι, δώροις ἔπειθε (conative imperfect = *tried* to win over by bribes).

not only men but women also

=non virorum modo sed etiam mulierum animos.

Note the insertion of *animos*. This word is extremely common in Latin, but foreign to our idiom. Compare *Pref.* § 5 "to divert a writer from the path of truth" = scribentis *animum*...flectere a vero, where, as here, the genitive precedes, because the person is really meant, not merely his mind.

The Oppian law had not yet been passed

=nondum lex Oppia...lata erat.

Observe the adverb *nondum* put first with great emphasis: its normal position would be immediately before *lata erat*.

for all that, not one woman

=tamen nulla.

The conjunction *tamen* comes first, if qualifying the whole sentence, but second, if qualifying a single word.

accepted a bribe

Note that *nulla* provides a feminine for *nemo*, cp. 34. 7. 5.

=accepit.

The object *dona* is readily supplied. Compare on *antefixa* § 5 above.

§ 7. And what, think you, was the reason?

=quam causam fuisse censetis?

Latin omits "and," and does not make "think you" parenthetic. In the *first person* such paren-

The same reason which

which led our ancestors to make
no legal provision in the matter

make...legal provision

there existed no luxuriousness

thetic expressions as *inquam, credo, ut opinor*, etc. are common enough.
= *eadem fuit quae*...

Latin repeats the verb, as in answering any question, e.g. "Are you coming?" "Yes" = *venisne? venio*.

= *quae maioribus nostris nihil de hac re lege sanciundi*.

Lit. "(the reason) which was (*fuit* is readily supplied) to our ancestors of enacting *nothing* (emphatic by separation from *sanciundi*) by law."

The personification "a reason which led our ancestors" is not too bold for Livy; for at 10. 18. 11 we have *quae te causa, ut provincia tua excederes, induxit?*

We say "reason for enacting": Latin says "reason of enacting." See 34. 1. 5 on "in the city" = *urbis*.
= *lege sanciundi*.

The adjective "legal" > quasi-adverb *lege*, and the noun "provision" > verb *sanciundi*. Note the archaic gerund form *-iundi*, for *-iendi*. This is mainly confined to verbs in *-io*.

= *nulla erat luxuria*.

There is stress on *nulla* by separation. The adjective *nullus* is equal to a strong negative, as often in Cicero.

The imperfect *erat* expresses a continuous state. Above we have *fuit* with *eadem*, where the reference is to a single event.

(luxuriousness) to be curbed

= quae coereretur.

§ 8. before we can know the
remedy

The subjunctive is allied to the jussive (future in the past). In primary time we can say: *nulla est luxuria quae coerceatur* = "which is to be, must be, ought to be curbed." So *faciat* = "he is to do" = "he ought to do," "he should do."

= ante...quam remedia eorum (sc. cognita esse).

come into existence

Note the anticipatory order of *ante*; and observe that Latin supplies the same verb. Contrast the variety of English—"diagnose"—"can know."

= natae sunt.

before the laws which are to limit
them

This is a present perfect—*γεγόνασι* not *γίγνονται*, "are in existence" not "are coming into existence (*nascuntur*). Here Livy follows Cicero's practice of preferring past consecution *facerent* after any sort of perfect.

= prius...quam leges quae iis modum facerent.

are to limit

Notice again the anticipatory order of *prius*, like *ante* above. Also observe the Livian variety *prius* for *ante*, and *iis modum facerent* for *eas coererent*.

= modum facerent.

Thus "are to limit" > "were to limit," because, as above pointed out, *natae sunt*, though a perfect present, is followed, according to Cicero's usage, by a past consecu-

§ 9. What called forth the
Licinian law

with its restriction of 500 acres

inordinate
passion *for* enlarging estates

tion. For *lex* as subject to a
transitive verb, see 4. 13.

=quid legem Liciniam evocavit...?

This law was carried B.C. 367,
and one of its provisions was that
no citizen should occupy more
than 500 iugera of public land.

=de quingentis iugeribus.

These words come as an after-
thought: the sentence is construc-
tionally complete at *excitavit*. The
effect is like: "What called forth
the Licinian law—I mean touching
500 acres?"; for the Lex Licinia
had many other provisions.

=ingens.

=cupido agros continuandi.

For "passion *for*" = "passion
of" see 34. 1. 5 on "in the city" =
urbis.

Livy has *cupido* ten times sub-
ject to a transitive verb. The
object is personal in seven of these
ten cases. See Appendix A.

Cicero uses *cupido* only in the
sense of Cupid. He would write
cupiditas, desiderium, studium.

Note the order: the object
agros between the noun *cupido*
and the gerund. This is normal.

Just as *continui montes* = "an
unbroken chain of mountains," so
agros continuare = "to form an un-
broken series of estates." These
estates were called *latifundia* and
were worked by slave-gangs. Thus
the small owner was driven out of
the country into the towns.

against gifts and presents

=de donis et muneribus.

The Lex Cincia of B.C. 204 forbade *patroni* to accept fees or gifts for defending their *clientes* in the courts.

pensioners and dependents

=vectigalis iam et stipendiaria.

The adjectives are prepositive because predicative and emphatic.

Note the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ position of *iam*.

the plebs had...commenced to be...
(dependents) of the senate

=plebs esse senatui coeperat.

Note the separation of *esse* from *coeperat*: it helps to emphasise the antithesis *plebs* and *senatus*.

Properly speaking *coepi* is a perfect present="I have begun")(*incipio*="I am beginning," but it is also used as an (Aorist) perfect="I began."

§ 10.

Observe *itaque*—the first formal connective in this chapter. Such want of connectives is frequent in rhetoric, but not in narrative, save in the very short sentence style.

any other

=aliam ullam.

Unusual for *ullam aliam*. *Ullus* is the adjective of *quisquam* and provides its feminine.

any other law was wanted

=aliam ullam tum legem desideratam esse.

Note the anticipatory *tum* (anticipating *cum* of *cum...accipiebant*) and its emphatic position. No law was wanted *in those days*.

to limit

=quae modum...faceret.

The relative *quae*=*ut* (in order

when

refused to accept

freely given, nay thrust upon them

that) + *ea*. For *lex* subject to a transitive verb see 34. 4. 13.

= *cum*. For this *cum* = "in that" = *quod* with the indicative, cp. 21. 18. 4 *praeceps vestra...et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem...deposcebatis* = "Your previous embassy showed no less hastiness in demanding Hannibal for punishment."

= *non accipiebant*.

Lit. "were not for accepting" — a conative imperfect. Greek, as so often with a negative would here use the imperfect cp. οὐκ ἔϊα, οὐκ ἤξιόν, οὐκ ἔθελε, οὐκ ἔπειθε κ.τ.λ. = *data et oblata ultro*.

The *et* seems to be corrective or explanatory = "given, that is to say, offered freely." For this *et* see W. on 3. 1. 3 *possessores et magna pars patrum*.

It is just possible that *data* might = "given at the request of husbands," who were thus indirectly bribed. Contrast *oblatus* = "freely offered without suggestion (*ultro*)."
Compare Cic. *Verr.* 1. 1. 1 *divinitus datum atque oblatus* = "given by heaven (in answer to our prayers), nay thrust upon us (whether we wished it or not)."

For the emphatic postpositive *ultro* cp. 1. 17. 8 *offerendum ultro rati*; and for *ultro* emphatic by separation cp. 40. 23. 1 *in omnia ultro suam obferens operam*.

§ 11. But, to-day, if

had Cineas gone the round of the
city with his bribes

in the public streets

to receive them

§ 12. Indeed
I cannot find even the ground

ground *for* desires

The neuter *data* referring to
aurum et purpuram is normal. See
M. § 214 b.

=si nunc.

The adversative asyndeton is
more emphatic than the normal
quodsi, sin.

=si...cum illis donis Cineas urbem
circumiret.

The imperfect *circumiret* =
"had been going round")(*cir-*
cumisset = "had gone round."

The words *cum illis donis* are
brought to the front because the
bribes are more important than
the briber: they go the rounds
quite as much as Cineas and are
practically subject.

=in publico.

See 34. 2. 10 on *in publico*. It
is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *stantis* and *in-*
venisset.

=quae acciperent.

quae = *ut* (in order that) *eae*.

=atque = yes and.

=ego...ne causam quidem...inire
possum.

Note *ego* inserted for emphasis
= ἕγωγε or ἐγὼ μὲν, whatever
others may do.

Latin writes: "not even the
ground can I find," i.e. the nega-
tive is brought forward. So "even
then he did not deceive the enemy"
=ne tum quidem fefellit hostes.
=cupiditatum...causam.

See 34. 1. 5 "in the city"
=urbis.

or the motive

=aut rationem.

Here *ratio*=origin, rationale. The phrase *rationem inire*=“to give an account of, to account for” is not uncommon, but with *causam* we should expect *invenire*.

The use of *aut* to carry on a preceding negative is found first in Cicero, but becomes more common later, cp. Liv. 3. 16. 4 nemo tribunos aut plebem timebat. (Gild. and Lodge, § 493. 3.)

=nam ut (+subjunctive concessive)...sic.

Granting that...still

Note the connective.

the denial of what is lawful for one's neighbour

=quod alii liceat, tibi non licere.

Here *tibi* is the ideal second person=“one”=τινι.

The phrase *non licere*=τὸ μὴ ἐξεῖναι=“the fact that it is not lawful.” Out of *quod* we supply *id* as subject to *licere*: lit. “what is lawful for another, the fact that this (*id* accusative) is not lawful for one (*tibi*) brings vexation.”

The subjunctive *liceat* is due to attraction; it stands within a subjunctive clause *ut...habeat*.

brings with it some...feeling of...vexation

=aliquid...indignationis habeat =ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει (where ἔχει=“involves”).

The infinitive *non licere* is here subject to a *transitive* verb. This is rare. There are in Livy five cases with *fallere* (always accompanied by a negative), e.g. 31. 33. 8 neutros fallit...hostes

appropinquare. Add 5. 2. 3; 30. 31. 1; 33. 47. 9; 40. 21. 7. [Compare 31. 25. 8 non fefellit Achaeos quo spectasset tam benigna pollicitatio.]

Less striking is 45. 5. 11 subiit extemplo animum, in se nimirum receptam labem, quae Evandri fuisset; but 40. 21. 8 *ne invitum* (*se*) *pārēre* (τὸ ἄκων γε πείθεσθαι) *suspicionem faceret* is very bold.

Other concealed infinitives, subjects to *transitive* verbs, are *auditum* 27. 45. 4; 28. 26. 7; *pronuntiatum* 4. 59. 7; *nuntiatum* 27. 37. 5; *temptatum* 7. 22. 1; *non perlitatum* 7. 8. 5; *cautum* 4. 16. 4.

Very similar are such cases as 1. 55. 4 non motam Termini sedem...firma cuncta portendere, and 30. 38. 12 laetitiam populo...addidit sedes sua sollemni spectaculo reddita, etc.

=pudoris.

=indignationis.

=aliquid aut pudoris aut indignationis.

Note the anticipatory *aut* before *pudoris*) (the one "or" of English.

=aequato omnium cultu.

Note the normal order: attribute (*aequato*), complement (*omnium*), noun (*cultu*). The first and third may interchange.

=quid unaquaeque vestrum veretur ne in se conspiciatur?

feeling of shame

feeling of vexation

some...feeling of shame or vexation

when fashions are the same for all

wherein need each one of you ladies fear to be made conspicuous?

Lit. "What does each...fear lest it may be seen conspicuously in her case?" For *vestrum* see 34. 2. 1 on *quisque nostrum*.

Evidently the meeting is in the open forum, and the ladies are listeners.

§ 13. The lowest shame

=*pessimus quidem pudor*.

Observe *quidem* = μέν answered by *sed* = δέ.

Livy is perhaps the first to represent μέν regularly in this way, attaching the *quidem* to any part of speech.

Pre-Livian Latin expressed antitheses by order and asyndeton, e.g. "The citizens left, but the soldiers remained" = *cives abeunt, milites manent* or (by chiasmus) *manent milites*; but Livy would also write: *cives quidem abeunt, milites autem (milites vero, sed milites) manent*.

Cicero does, at times, use *quidem* with the first clause, but always attaches the *quidem* to a pronoun. Here he might write *pessimus ille quidem pudor est*. See M. § 489 b.

is shame of thrift or humble circumstances

=*est (sc. pudor) vel parsimoniae vel paupertatis*.

Note the anticipatory *vel* before *paupertatis*)(the one "or" of English.

The word *paupertas* merely = restricted means)(*egestas* = poverty.

both forms of shame

=*utrumque*.

The neuter is used referring to two inanimate things. The plural *utraque* would mean "each of two *sets* of things."

Note the emphatic position of *utrumque*—the object before the subject.

Livy has *lex* subject to a transitive verb 29 times. In 26 of these cases the object is expressed. In 9 only is the object personal. Compare 34. 4. 8, 4. 10, 4. 18, 6. 10, 7. 11. See Appendix A.

when

=*cum*, with the indicative, as always when the *cum* clause follows the principal. Here *cum* nearly=*quod*=in that.

Cicero confines this *cum* (=in that) to present tenses. Both he and Livy use *dum* in much the same way.

For *cum* cp. 34. 4. 17 *cum... videbit*. See also W. on Liv. 8. 33. 10.

§ 14. "But," says our wealthy lady, "it is just this...that"

=*"hanc"* inquit *"ipsam..." illa locuples*.

The position of *illa locuples* is so strange that one is tempted to bracket it as a gloss. The subject of *inquit* may be vague as at 34. 3. 9.

Such an expression as "It is just this equality which..." is merely an English idiom by which to stress "this." Latin achieves the effect by *order*, and puts *hanc*

Why may I not attract attention...?

first, separating it from *ipsam* by *inquit*.

=*cur non...conspicior?*

Observe the position of *non*. The order *cur insignis auro...non conspicior?* would mean: "Why, when I am a blaze of gold,...am I not to be looked at?" The negative in Livy's order does, as it were, double duty, as if "Why am I not a blaze of gold, and therefore not looked at?"

by a blaze of gold

In indignant questions, we often have the indicative, rather than the deliberative subjunctive. See Roby § 1611, and contrast § 1610.

=*insignis* (sc. *οὔσα*) *auro*.

Lit. "(being) distinguished by gold."

Why should the poor circumstances...find concealment?

=*cur paupertas...latet?*

For the indicative cp. *conspicior* above; and for *paupertas* see on 34. 4. 13.

under this pretext of a law

=*sub hac legis specie*.

For order see 34. 4. 12 *aequato omnium cultu*. Probably *hac=tali*.

making it seem that...they might have had

=*ut...habiturae...fuisse videantur*.

Lit. "so that they seem to have been going to have."

This is a somewhat complicated piece of syntax. First take a simple instance: "If he had been doing this, he would have been doing well"=*si hoc faceret, bene faceret* or *bene facturum erat*.

If we put this latter apodosis in Or. Obl. (e.g. after *dixit*), we get *eum...bene facturum fuisse* (for an imperfect—here *erat*—becomes perfect infinitive). Thus in Or. Obl. there is no distinction between *dixisset* and *diceret* of the *recta*: both become *dicturum fuisse*.

Next take such a phrase as: “it seems that you are wrong.” Latin turns this personally, i.e. *videris errare*, and therefore “it seems that you would have been wrong” = *erraturus fuisse videris*, where *errares* of the independent form becomes *erraturus fuisse* when dependent and infinitive. Thus “it seems that they might have been having” becomes “*habiturae...fuisse videntur*.” = *quod habere non possunt*.

Here *non possunt* = “have not the means”; hence “afford” may be represented by *habere*. Note Latin repetition *habere...habiturae*)(English variety “afford”... “have had.” = *si liceret*.

The noun of English > verb of Latin. Lit. “if it had been being lawful.”

= *Quirites*.

See note on 34. 2. 1 and contrast the position of *Quirites* with that of “Gentlemen.”

= *hoc certamen...ut divites...habere velint*.

what they cannot afford

but for legislation

§ 15. Gentlemen

such rivalry...as will cause the rich to desire

only what no one else of their sex
can have

Here *hoc*=*tale*, and *velint* is
consecutive subjunctive.

=*id*...*quod nulla alia possit*.

Observe the anticipatory order
of *id*, translating "only."

The phrase "no one else of
their sex" is mere variety for "no
other woman." Put what the
English *means* in its simplest
form. The feminine gender trans-
lates "woman."

The word "have" in "can
have" may readily be supplied
from the previous *habere*.

and the poor

=*pauperes*.

Latin uses *asyndeton*.

Greek would have *αἱ μὲν πλού-
σται...αἱ δὲ πένητες*.

fearing contempt

=*ne*...*contemnuntur*.

The noun "contempt">verb.
The verb *contemnere*=*ὀλιγωρεῖν*
=think lightly of, and is not so
strong as *despicere*=*καταφρονεῖν*
=despise.

on this very ground

=*ob hoc ipsum*.

The specific noun "ground" is
expressed partly by the loose
neuter of Latin, partly by the
preposition.

to overstrain their means

=*supra vires se extendant*.

The metaphor is purely physi-
cal in Latin.

=*nē*=*ναί*.

§ 16. Assuredly

This *ne* always seems to occur
along with some pronoun, e.g. *nē*
ego, *nē tu*, *nē ille*, etc. This is
one reason for inserting *eas*.

so soon as

=*simul*=*simul ac*, as so often.

they feel shame...they will cease
to feel it

=*eas simul pudere...coeperit,...*
non pudebit.

Note the emphatic position of *eas*; the sentiment, Livy hints, is peculiarly true of women.

The periphrasis *pudere...coeperit* provides a future perfect for *pudet*.

where shame should not exist

=*quod non oportet* (sc. *pudere*).

The antecedent of *quod* is *id* understood, and the construction is: *simul (ac) id quod non oportet (pudere), eas pudere coeperit*. This personal use of *pudere* is only found elsewhere in Comedy, e.g. Plaut. *Mil.* 3. 1. 30 *si quidem te quicquam, quod facis, pudet*, and Ter. *Ad.* 1. 2. 4, etc.

The present tenses *non oportet* and *oportet* may stand in a clause which is future, because *oportet*=is, will be, and would be right. So *longum est*=is, will be, and would be a long story. Compare *par est, facile est, difficile est*, etc., and δέῃ, χρεῖ=it is and would be necessary, right.

who possesses the means

=*quae de suo poterit* (sc. *parare*).

Lit. "who is able (to get it) from her own (income)." We say "is able," but Latin must have future in the subordinate clause if the principal clause is future.

So below "who does not">
quae non poterit.

=*miserum illum virum.*

This is the accusative of excla-

§ 17. Unhappy man

whether he yield to her prayers
or not !

what he does not give himself...
he will see

does not give

he will see given by another

mation. The *illum* is anticipatory
of *et qui...et qui*.

=*et qui exoratus et qui non ex-*
oratus erit.

Observe the formal precision
of Latin: "both one who in the
future is won over and one who in
the future is not won over." To
us the *et...et* and the repeated
exoratus are intolerable.

I have kept the English sub-
junctive "yield"; but modern
idiom would permit the careless
syntax of "yields"—a present
tense, despite the fact that the
reference is to the future. Con-
trast the accuracy of Latin.

=*cum, quod ipse non dederit...*
videbit.

Note the connective *cum*, which
here=*ἐπεὶ* in the sense of *γάρ*=
nam, ...enim.

For *cum*="seeing that," "in
that," with the indicative, see note
on 34. 4. 13 *ad fin.*

=*non dederit.*

Future because the principal
clause is future; and future per-
fect because the action of *dederit*
is antecedent to, not contem-
poraneous with, *videbit.*

=*datum ab alio videbit.*

The normal order would be *ab*
alio datum, but *datum* is brought
close to *non dederit* to point the
antithesis, and *ab alio* comes as
an after-thought, i.e. "given, not
refused—and by another!"

§ 18. Even now

=nunc.

The adverb is emphatic; they may do worse in the future.

husbands of others

=alienos viros.

There is stress on the prepositive *alienos*. It is not their own husbands only whom they solicit.

what is more

=quod maius est.

they ask for a measure

=legem...rogant.

There is a reference to the technical *legem rogare* = "to introduce a bill." As a matter of fact they are only asking the *repeal* of a *lex*.

Note the Latin repetition—*rogant...rogant*)(English variety—"solicit"... "ask for."

and get them, too,

=et...impetrant.

in certain quarters

The verb = "to ask and get."
=a quibusdam.

The English *means* "from certain persons"; hence the Latin version.

But it is to the detriment of yourself, Sir,...that you are compliant

=adversus te...exorabilis es.

Note the adversative asyndeton. The speaker apostrophises an imaginary husband. The "Sir" needs no representation in Latin.

Observe the cumbersome English method of emphasising "to the detriment of yourself," viz. "it is to the detriment of yourself...that you are." Latin achieves the result by order.

The adjective *exorabilis* (= *παρρητικός*) re-echoes the *exoratus* of § 17.

your property and your children

= *et rem tuam et liberos tuos.*

Latin (1) omits all connectives ;
(2) inserts all (as here) ; (3) attaches
que to the last member.

The word *liberi* refers to the
children of a definite person.
Contrast *pueri*=children, as a
class. So *libertini*=freedmen, as
a class, but *liberti*=the freedmen
of a definite person.

once let the law cease to limit...
and *you* will never succeed in
doing it

= *simul lex modum...facere de-*
sierit, tu numquam facies.

Again *simul*=*simul ac.* We
say: "as soon as the law *ceases*,"
but, in Latin, the time of the
subordinate clause must be future,
because the principal clause is
future, and the tense must be
future perfect, because the
"ceasing" is antecedent to the
time of *facies*.

you

= *tu.*

Since "you" is emphatic, the
pronoun must be inserted.

will never succeed in doing it

= *numquam facies* (sc. *modum*).

Note the repetition *facere...
facies*, and contrast the variety of
English.

§ 19. Do not imagine

= *nolite...existimare.*

This is the most common way
of expressing a prohibition ; *ne*
+ perf. subj. is comparatively
rare.

that the position will be the same

= *eodem loco...futuram rem.*

Lit. "that the thing will be
in the same position." Livy uses
loco ± in, whether literal or meta-
phorical.

The *esse* is omitted, as so often with the future participle.

Note the great emphasis on *eodem loco*, by separation from *futuram*.

For *rem* see Index.

=antequam lex...ferretur.

There should be a notion of purpose prevented to account for the subjunctive, i.e. "before the law could be passed," but Livy, not seldom, has the subjunctive with *antequam*, *priusquam*, etc., apparently on the analogy of *cum* expressing attendant circumstances. =de hoc=de hac re. This latter Cicero would write because he uses the ambiguous forms only as masculine. Livy often combines a neuter with a preceding *res*. See W. on 32. 10. 3.

=...tutius est.

=et hominem improbum non accusari (tutius est).

Observe the *et* before *hominem*. It anticipates the *et* before *luxuria*, and nearly=*ut...ita*, μέν...δέ. The thought is: a bad man has tasted prison when awaiting trial; if acquitted, he is more dangerous, because resentful. It is the same with a bad habit: there is less danger in leaving it unrestricted, than in restricting it first and then allowing it free play again. It then becomes like a wild beast, released suddenly from galling chains.

before the law was passed

to deal with it

It is less dangerous
for a bad man to escape trial

would have been

than it will be now

maddened, like some wild beast,
by its very chains

like some wild beast

and then

§ 20. I therefore move

The subject of *est* is τὸ—hominem—non—accusari, i.e. "the fact that a man is not brought to trial."

= *esset*.

Lit. "would have been being."
= *quam erit nunc*)(*quam nunc erit*.

By putting *erit* first Livy brings out the antithesis to "what might have been (*esset*)," and also gives stress to *nunc*.

= *ipsis vinculis, sicut ferae bestiae, irritata*.

Observe the order of Latin. Too many beginners would write *irritata* first. But a Latin phrase, like a Latin sentence, if constructionally complete, is *ipso facto* at an end. In the beginner's order, *irritata, sicut ferae bestiae, ipsis vinculis*, the phrase should finish at *irritata*, and then again at *bestiae*, but it does not.

= *sicut ferae bestiae*.

Latin has the plural (Livy thinks of the beasts in the amphitheatre), but the singular is more natural in English, parallel to the singular of *luxuria*.

The adjective "wild" has stress; hence *ferae* is prepositive.

= *deinde, never et deinde*.

= *ego...censeo*.

This is the usual formula employed, in concluding a speech, by the mover of a resolution.

Compare 10. 8. 12 ego hanc legem
...iubendam censeo. Note the
absence of connective and the
omission of *esse* in both passages.
For the inserted *ego* see below.
=adversative asyndeton.

The pronoun *vos* is inserted to
form an artificial antithesis to
ego = ἐγὼ μέν...ὑμεῖς δέ, i.e. I
propose one thing: you may
do another, but whatever you do
may it have heaven's blessing.
=quod faxitis.

The specific noun "course"
>the indefinite neuter of Latin.

The form *faxitis* is from *faxo*,
an archaic future of *facere*, cp.
ράξω. Such archaisms may be
expected in an old parliamentary
formula.

The future is used in the sub-
ordinate clause, because the prin-
cipal clause, being an expression
of wish that something may
happen, has necessarily a future
sense.

=deos omnis fortunare velim.

The noun "blessing" > the
verb *fortunare*.

Here *velim* = βουλοίμην ἄν.
Such an apodosis, when the pro-
tasis is regularly suppressed, we
call "potential subjunctive." The
apodosis *velim* is really a remoter
future, i.e. "I should wish, (if it
were to be of use)." Contrast
cerneres, videres = "you might have
seen"; lit. "you would have been

but

whatever course you adopt

may the blessing of every god rest
upon it

seeing (if you had been present)."

For *omnis*=*omnes* cp. on 34. 4. 4 *laudantis*.

Throughout this chapter note the absence of connectives. In § 10 we have *itaque*, in § 12 *atque* and *nam*, and in § 13 *sed*, but no others.

CHAPTER V

§ 1. After this speech

=post haec.

those plebeian tribunes

Again the indefinite neuter of Latin represents the specific noun of English.

=tribuni quoque plebi.

The force of *quoque* is merely "on the other hand"; like the Greek *καί* in *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι*.

who had promised their intervention

Note the archaic *plebi* for *plebis* and see on 34. 1. 2.

=qui se intercessuros professi erant.

The noun "intervention">the verb of Latin. There is the usual omission of *esse* with a future participle.

added a few words to the same purport

=cum pauca in eandem sententiam adiecissent.

With *pauca* supply (perhaps) *verba*. The *in* with *sententiam* is like the *in* of such phrases as *in*

bonam (malam) partem accipere
= "to take something in good
part."

Note that Latin subordinates
"added" in a *cum* clause, and
picks up with *tum*.

= *ita disseruit*.

= *pro rogatione*.

= *ab se promulgata*.

Observe the order: "the bill
brought forward by himself" =
rogatione ab se promulgata. The
position of the complement (*ab se*)
is invariable. Usually the attri-
bute comes first, but *pro pro-*
mulgata would sound too ugly.

See on 34. 4. 12 *aequato om-*
nium cultu.

The word *promulgare* pro-
perly = to placard, post up, so
that the people may know the
terms of the proposed measure
before discussing it in the as-
sembly.

= *si privati tantummodo*.

Both *privati* and *tantummodo*
gain stress; for the normal order
would be *tantummodo privati*.

= *processissent*.

For the verb cp. 30. 37. 7 *cum*
... *Gisgo ad dissuadendam pacem*
processisset.

It looks like a translation of
παρελθών used of speakers coming
forward to the *βήμα*, as here to the
rostra.

= *ad suadendum dissuadendum-*
que.

addressed the assembly
in support of the bill
which he himself had brought
forward

if private members only

had risen

to speak for or against

the measure before us

I, for my part,

feeling that enough had been said
on both sides

should have remained silent *and*
awaited
the verdict of your votes

§ 2. But

For *que* and the verbs see on
34. 1. 4.

=quod ab nobis rogatur.

Cp. *legem rogare*.

=ego quoque=καὶ ἐγώ.

Compare note on *tribuni quo-*
que above.

=cum satis dictum (*sc. esse*) pro
utraque parte existimarem.

Here the subjunctive *existi-*
marem does double work, and
means not merely "since I was
thinking," but "since I should
have been thinking (if private
members only had spoken)." Such
a double subjunctive is normal
with the imperfect, but not with
the pluperfect. Thus *ut faceret*
may="so that he would have
been doing"; but "so that he
would have done" requires the
resolved forms *ut facturus fuerit*,
ut facere potuerit. See Roby
§ 1521.

W. quotes 31. 38. 4 which well
illustrates both constructions: *si*
...copiis congressus rex fuisset,
FORSITAN inter tumultum, CUM
omnes ...FUGERENT, EXUI castris
POTUERIT rex. See W.'s note on
the passage.

=tacitus (ἄν)...expectassem.

=suffragia vestra.

The words "the verdict of"
are merely ornamental and add
nothing to the sense.

=nunc=νῦν δέ. See on 34. 2. 2.

a gentleman of such authority

=vir gravissimus.

Latin loves superlatives of exaggeration.

The word *vir* (contrast *homo*) implies respect and also prominence in public life.

and a consul—I mean M. Porcius

=consul M. Porcius.

There is, I think, a crescendo. The critic, says Valerius, is a public man (*vir*) of weight (*gravissimus*), our highest official (*consul*) and, above all, M. Porcius Cato.

We have a similar effect (but an anti-climax) in Cic. *Pro Caec.* 9. 28 decimo loco testis expectatus et ad extremum reservatus dixit, senator populi Romani, splendor ordinis, decus atque ornamentum iudiciorum, exemplar antiquae religionis, Fidiculanus Falcula.

has not only used...his influence,
...but has also delivered a...oration
against our proposal

=non auctoritate solum..., sed oratione etiam...insectatus sit rogationem nostram.

Here “not only” properly refers to “influence,” just as “but also” properly refers to “oration.” Latin and Greek are more careful than English in such matters. Moreover the two ideas “influence” and “speech” are emphasized by the order; both lie *between* the adverbial phrases *non ...solum* and *sed...etiam*.

For English carelessness in regard to the position of the negative, compare “I have not

used his influence...delivered a speech against

(influence) which needed no words to enhance it

carefully prepared

come to see him" with *non ut viderem eum veni* and οὐχ ἵνα ἴδοιμι αὐτόν, ἦλθον. So "It was not said to deaf ears"=*haud surdis auribus dicta* (3. 70. 7). See 34. 5. 12 on "in a case which especially touches."
=*auctoritate...oratione...insectatus sit.*

English varies the expression : Latin has parallelism—two ablatives of the means and *one* common verb.

The verb gains a certain stress by preceding *rogationem nostram*—he has used his influence to *attack*, not to defend.
=*quae tacita satis momenti habuisset.*

Lit. "which in silence (without words) would have had enough weight."

Here *tacita* (οἶσα)=*si tacita fuisset*. The metaphor in *momenti* is from a balance; Cato's *weighty* influence (*auctoritas* = *gravitas*) would have made the scale-pan move down (*momentum* = *movimentum*). Thus *momentum* helps to translate "the *weight* of his influence."

W. well quotes Cic. *Sull.* 82 *quorum tacita gravitas loquitur.*

Observe how *tacita* occurs here, despite the nearness of *tacitus* at the end of § 1.
=*accurata.*

The comparative in this sense is more common. Compare *accuratior oratio* (35. 31. 4); *accuratior sermo* (26. 50. 3); *accuratius agere* (42. 45. 2).

Other phrases are *praeparata oratio* (35. 16. 2); and *oratio ad tempus parata* (28. 43. 1).

= *necesse est paucis respondere*.

Here *paucis* = *paucis verbis* = "by means of a few words."

Note the constructions of *necesse*, e.g. "I must go" = (1) *necesse est me ire*; (2) *necesse est mihi ire*; (3) *eam necesse est*. In the last, the order is invariable (i.e. the subjunctive always precedes). Very rarely do we find *necesse est ut*.

= *qui tamen*.

When *qui* is a mere connective = *et is*, *sed is*, the only conjunction added is *tamen*. Obviously if *qui* = *sed is*, *is autem*, *is vero*, then *qui autem*, *qui vero* would be as needless as "but however." See M. § 448 Obs.

= *consumpsit*.

The Latin has a touch of "wasted."

= *plura verba*.

= *in castigandis matronis*.

The noun of English ("reproof") becomes the verb of Latin.

Note how Latin uses stronger words. We say "reproof": Latin says *castigare*; we say "dislike":

I am compelled to make a brief reply

§ 3. The consul, however,

expended

more verbiage

on reproof of married women

Latin says *odium*; we say "criticism": Latin says *convicium*.

Observe that *in castigando matronas* would not be possible; the ablative of the gerund, if governed by a preposition, can only take the accusative of a neuter pronoun. Thus *in haec agendo* (in the case of doing this) is possible; but if we use *res*, we must write *in his rebus agendis*.

on criticism of our bill

= in rogatione nostra dissuadenda.

Again the noun ("criticism") becomes the verb of Latin.

For *dissuadere* see on 34. 1. 4.

Note the chiasmic order *in castigandis matronis...in rogatione...dissuadenda*. This draws attention to the double antithesis—reproof)(criticism : women)(the bill.

and he actually raised the question

=et quidem ut in dubio poneret.

Here *et quidem* = *et ita quidem verba consumpsit ut...*

The combination *et quidem* = "and indeed" is very common at all periods of Latin literature. As a connective it often = *καὶ δὲ καί* = "and what is more," "and further."

It may also = *idque, et id, καὶ ταῦτα*, "and that too," as in § 8 below.

raised the question

=in dubio poneret.

Lit. "placed in the (category of the) doubtful." For the neuter adjective as noun cp. 34. 2. 10 on

the course which he blamed

in publico, and in this chapter § 5 *in publico*, and § 7 *in publicum*.

=*id*, quod reprehenderet.

had been adopted by these ladies

Again the specific noun "course" becomes the indefinite neuter pronoun of Latin. The subjunctive *responderet* is sub-oblique and represents the recta *id quod reprehendo*.

=*matronae*...fecissent.

The English order may be retained by making "had been adopted" active voice.

of their own accord

"These ladies" is a mere ornate alias for the married women already mentioned in this section. Latin boldly repeats ; English varies.

=*sua sponte*.

at our instigation

In this phrase *sua* prepositive is normal.

=*nobis auctoribus*.

§ 4. But it is the measure that

The English abstract > Latin concrete, "we being instigators." =*rem*—see Index.

not

Note no connective: *adversative asyndeton*.

=*non*.

against whom the consul levelled this—allegation

For *non* = "and not," "but not," like the *οὐ*, *οὐχί* of Greek orators, see M. § 458, Obs. 1 *ad fin.*

=*in quos iecit*...*hoc consul verbo tenus*.

An allegation is a verbal statement not necessarily supported by facts.

The dash before "allegation" indicates a pause, and this pause is represented by the stress on *verbo tenus* (= λόγου γε ἔνεκα, "as far as words went"); for the adverbial phrase would normally precede *iecit*; its abnormal position prepares us for the antithesis *re*. In Greek we should have λόγῳ μὲν ἐπετίμησε ταῦτα, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐδὲν παρέειχε τεκμήριον.

For *iacere aliquid* = "level a charge," cp. 6. 14. 11. "Without discriminating between truth and falsity in his charges, he alleged that treasure in the shape of Gallic gold was being hoarded by the senators" = *omisso discrimine vera an falsa iaceret, thensauros Gallici auri occultari a patribus iecit. = iecit magis...quam ut re insimularet.*

levelled ... though without any evidence to support his charge

Lit. "levelled rather...than so that by means of fact he made a charge."

In full we should have *iecit magis hoc...verbo tenus quam ita iecit ut re insimularet.*

This limiting *ut* will often translate "without" + the gerund in English, e.g. "He did it without Caesar's perceiving him" = *ita id egit ut Caesar non videret.*

Note *re* despite *rem* at the beginning of the sentence; and observe the anticipatory position of *magis*.

§ 5. He talked of

=appellavit.

Here "He talked of" means "He used such and such names."

=coetum.

conspiracy

Note that there is no connective and observe coetum *et* seditionem *et*...secessionem and contrast the one "and" of English.

on the part of the women

=muliebrem.

A Latin adjective often equals a genitive of English. Compare Cic. *Att.* 14. 21. 3. "It was *done* with the courage of a man, but the thoughtlessness of a child"

=acta illa res est animo virili, consilio puerili.

because our wives publicly asked

=quod matronae in publico... rogassent.

Note the repeated *matronae* ("our wives") after *matronae* ("these ladies") and *matronis* ("married women") in § 3. Contrast the variety of English.

The adverb "publicly" has stress by separation from *rogassent*; the women might have solicited their husbands in private, but not in public. For the phrase cp. *in dubio* § 3, and note at 34. 2. 10 on *in publico*.

The subjunctive *rogassent* is that of "reported reason"="because, as he said." The action of asking is antecedent to the time of *appellavit*; hence the pluperfect.

=ut legem...abrogaretis.

that a law...should be repealed by you

The English order may be retained by using the active voice

in Latin ; but "now that peace... flourishing" must come before the verb ; for, otherwise, the sentence, being grammatically complete at "should be repealed by you," would, in Latin, cease at "abrogaretis," and *in pace...republica* would come as a surprise.

a law whose passage was aimed
against them

=*legem in se latam*.

The noun "passage" > the verb *latam*.

in time of war and during a period
of distress

=*per bellum, temporibus duris*.

These are further complements to *latam*, and, properly, would lie between *legem* and *latam* ; but they acquire emphasis by their position—a position which enables them to be brought close to the antithetical *in pace*. See, however, the note on 34. 1. 3 (p. 32).

The whole argument is: the law was passed *not* in time of peace, *not* in time of prosperity, but in war and a period of distress.

in time of war

=*per bellum*.

Livy often has *per*=*παρά* as in *παρά τὸν πόλεμον* ("in the course of the war"). So the frequent *per eos dies*= "about that time."

and during a period of distress

=*temporibus duris*.

Note the asyndeton. The plural *tempora* often="a critical period." The ablative is one of attendant circumstances.

now that peace reigns

=in pace.

Note *in* to express attendant circumstances, cp. *in re trepida*.

Observe the Livian variety *per bellum, temporibus duris, in pace*.

The metaphor of "reigns" is quite dead and needs no representation. Thus "silence reigned in the camp" = *silentium in castris fuit*.

and the state is prosperous and flourishing

=*et florenti ac beata re publica*.

Note this *ac* used for variety with *et* where the connected member is subdivided. Compare Cic. *Off.* 3. 1 *magnifica vox et magno viro ac sapiente digna* (M. § 433 *ad fin.*).

W. thinks *florenti* merely careless for *florente*, but it may be adjectival with *in* supplied.

[In the Ciceronian passage quoted above *sapiente* is a noun (=philosopher), not an adjective; otherwise we should have *sapienti*.]

§ 6. These and other flights of rhetoric I know there are

=*verba magna...et haec et alia esse scio*.

Note the absence of connective.

The phrase *verba magna* = *big words*, "highfalutin." The adjective of quantity, normally prepositive, comes after its noun here and therefore gains stress.

Observe *verba* here, *verbo* in § 4, and *verba* in § 3.

When verbs which take the

to be pressed into the service of
exaggeration

we are all aware

as a speaker is not merely weighty,
but, sometimes, aggressive too

despite his gentle character

accusative and infinitive come last, they are slightly emphasised. So here *scio*, and below *scimus omnes*.

Note the formal *et...et*. Modern English avoids "both...and."
= *quae rei augendae causa conquirantur*.

Lit. "which are to be (can be) sought out and got together (*con-*) for the sake of exaggeration." The *quae*=*ut ea*="so as to be," "so that they are to be."

The noun "exaggeration" is expressed *verbally*=*res augenda*. Note *res* despite *re* and *rem* in § 4.

The quasi-preposition *causa*, like all dissyllabic prepositions, may follow its case.
=*scimus omnes*.

The adjective *omnes* has stress coming last: "we know—all of us."

Note the variety of English: "we are aware" and above "I know")(repetition of Latin: *scimus* and *scio*.

= *oratorem non solum gravem sed interdum etiam trucem*.

The effect of placing *interdum* between *sed* and *etiam* is to draw our attention to a polite qualification of *trucem*.

= *cum ingenio sit mitis*.

Both *ingenio* and *mitis* gain stress, the former by separation, the latter by coming last. By

nature, says the speaker, Cato is *gentle*, but, on a platform, he may be the reverse. The whole phrase *cum...mitis* comes as a courteous and emphatic addendum, since the sentence is constructionally complete at *scimus omnes*.

§ 7. For what startling novelty

=nam quid tandem novi.

The *tandem* goes with *quid* and =“(what) pray?” =*τί ποτε*; translating “startling.” For *novus* see note on 34. 3. 3.

these ladies

=matronae.

“these ladies”—an ornate alias for “the married women.” Latin therefore puts *matronae* again, in spite of *matronae* § 5, and *matronae*, *matronis* § 3. See § 9 below.

by crowding the streets and courting publicity

=quod frequentes...in publicum processerunt?

The metaphor “courting” is dead. All that it *means* is “have come into publicity”; this Latin writes.

in a matter which touches them so nearly

The words “the streets” and “publicity” are sufficiently turned by *in publicum*.

=in causa ad se pertinente.

Seeing that *pertinens* is here adjectival, we should expect *pertinenti*, cp. § 12. In this place “them” refers to the subject of the sentence in which it stands; therefore we have *se*) (§ 12 *ad ipsas*.

Is this the first occasion on which...?

=numquam ante hoc tempus...?

before the public gaze

Nay, I will open your own "Antiquities," and refute you from it

§ 8. Hear

and always

to the interests of the state

=in publico.

Note the repetition: *in publicum* ("courting publicity") above, and in § 5 *in publico* ("publicly"). Contrast the variety of English. In § 9 below, *in publicum* = "into the treasury."

See note at 34. 2. 10 on *in publico*.

=tuas adversus te Origines revolvam.

Observe the absence of connective. Note the stress on *tuas*, prepositive and separated from its noun. It emphasises the antithesis "your own against yourself," i.e. your own mouth shall convict you; you shall be hoist with your own petard.

The reference to the "Antiquities" is an anachronism. Cato did not write the work (so say Quintilian and Nepos) until he was an old man.

"To open a book" is *evolvere*, *revolvere*, *replicare*, since the Romans used rolls (*volumina*). "To close a book" is *de manibus ponere*.

=accipere.

Again there is no connective. This use of *accipere* for *audire* is archaic and colloquial. See L. & S. Lucretius (e.g. 4. 983) has the full phrase *auribus accipere*.

=et quidem semper=idque semper=καὶ ταῦτα αἰεί. See § 3 above.
=bono publico.

To begin at the beginning

in the reign of Romulus

when the Sabines had seized the
Capitol and a...battle was being
fought

(when)...a pitched battle was
being fought

in the very midst of the forum

This may be a modal ablative or, as Roby § 1243 holds, an ablative of attendant circumstances. The noun is *bono*. We also get *malo publico*, and *pessimo* (= "great detriment") *publico*. Tac. *Ann.* 3. 70 has *egregium* (= honour) *publicum*. See W. on 2. 1. 3.

=iam a principio.

Livy begins his first chapter of Book i with *iam primum omnium*. Compare 1. 2. 3 *iam inde ab initio*.

=regnante Rōmulo.

The noun of English > the verb of Latin.

Note the quantity of *Rōmulus* and contrast *Rēmus*.

=cum Capitolio ab Sabinis capto
...dimicaretur.

Latin subordinates "had seized" and uses *dimicaretur* impersonally.

=(cum)...signis collatis dimicaretur.

The noun "battle" > the verb, and the adjective "pitched" > the adverb or, as here, the adverbial phrase *signis collatis*.

=medio in foro.

Note the abnormal position of *medio*. This position translates "the very" of English. Compare 7. 19. 3 *medio in foro*, and 44. 35. 16 *medio in alveo*. W. says *in medio foro* is the usual order; indeed the adjective of locality

most often comes first as in *in summo monte*, etc. But at 44. 44. 4 we have *in foro medio*.

The preposition is more often omitted with the adjectives *totus*, *omnis*, *cunctus*, *medius*.

did not the matrons rush between
...and stay the fury of the fight?

= *nonne intercurso matronarum
...proelium sedatum est?*

Like *ἀπα*, *nonne* is frequently inserted *after* the completion of the subordinate clause, as here after *cum...dimicaretur*.

rush between

= *intercurso*.

The verb of English here > the noun of Latin. The converse, as we have seen, is far more common.

Note how the English order of narration may be kept by making the "matrons' rush" the means, and by using the passive verb. In fact *intercurso matronarum* is really subject, i.e. the intervention of the women stayed the fight. Thus *proelium* though grammatical subject takes a humble place in the sentence. Compare *Pref.* § 9. "The qualities which won the Empire" = *quibus artibus... partum...imperium sit*; 3. 62. 2. "The tactics of my colleague and the bravery of the soldiers won the day" = *consilio collegae, virtute militum victoria parta est*. And see 34. 6. 9 on *ne abrogata ea effundantur ad voluptatem*.
= *intercurso...inter acies duas*.

rush between the two lines

The prepositional phrase *inter acies* qualifying *intercurso* is

doubly justified because *inter-cursu* is (1) a noun of strong verbal nature, (2) accompanied by an attribute *matronarum*. See 34. 1. 5 on *aditus in forum*.

The order *inter acies duas* is noticeable. Livy is in such haste to write how women ran between battle-lines that *duas*, though an adjective of number, is made post-positive.

=proelium sedatum est.

The metaphor *sedare*, properly to cause to sit, to allay, e.g. *sedare fluctus*, is frequent with *pugnam*, *proelium*, *bellum*, etc.

=quid ?=τί δέ;=καὶ μήν.

=regibus exactis.

The noun "expulsion" becomes the verb. The word *regibus* comes first like *regnante* in § 8 to remind us that we are still dealing with the early times of the *kingship*.

= cum Coriolano Marcio duce legiones Volscorum castra...possuissent.

The important person is the general; he therefore comes first in Latin as if subject.

Note the order *Coriolano Marcio* for *Marcio Coriolano*. This inversion (rare in Cicero) is fairly frequent in Livy, and very frequent in Tacitus. When it is used in Cicero or Livy, the *praenomen* is never inserted.

stay the fury of the fight

§ 9. Again
after the expulsion of the kings

when Marcius Coriolanus, at the
head of the Volscian legions, had
encamped

had encamped within five miles

was it not *they* who

the army

which, otherwise, would have overwhelmed this city

Furthermore

when it had been taken by the Gauls

= *castra ad quintum lapidem posuissent.*

= *nonne...matronae.*

The stress on "they" is represented by the rhetorical repetition of *matronae* here and in the next sentence.

For the position of *nonne* cp. § 8 above.

= *id agmen.*

The English definite article may often be represented by *is* or *ille*. The order is as if *id agmen* were going to be the subject.

= *quo obruta haec urbs esset.*

The relative is here logical subject and, therefore, the grammatical subject is thrust to the end. See note at 34. 5. 8 on *intercursu* and the citation from *Pref.* § 9.

The word "overwhelmed" should be read with an upward intonation; hence *obruta* comes early.

The protasis *nisi matronae avertissent* is implied, and its implication (natural to Latin) sufficiently represents "otherwise."

= *iam* = *καὶ μὴν.*

= *urbe capta a Gallis.*

Latin repeats *urbs*)(the "it" of English.

The normal order would be *urbe a Gallis capta*, but "taken" is the important point)("nearly overwhelmed" above; and *a*

was not its ransom the gold (which
they contributed to the treasury ?)

Gallis comes as an after-thought^s
and has the effect of "this time
by the Gauls")(*ab Sabinis* of
§ 8. Compare 35. 35. 1 quem
spoliatum maritimis oppidis a
Romanis)(*ab Achaeis*.

=aurum quo redempta urbs est
(nonne matronae...in publicum
contulerunt ?).

Again "its" is turned by the
repetition of *urbs*, and again the
relative is logical subject, as if
"(the gold) which ransomed the
city." Compare above *quo obruta*
...*urbs esset* and note. The stress
is on "ransomed")("saved by
soldiers"; hence *redempta* comes
early.

The noun "ransom" > the
verb. Observe that *quo...urbs est*
is a mere adjectival clause, and
the tense *redempta...est* is in no
way affected by the tense of the
principal verb *contulerunt*. Con-
trast the instances quoted at
34. 3. 7 on *sed tamen cum fuit*.

=matronae.

Again repetition in Latin. See
above for this, and for *nonne* see
§ 8.

=consensu omnium or, as at 33.
23. 1, omnium consensu.

We even get *consensu* alone, as
at 3. 35. 7 and 3. 38. 7.

=in publicum (sc. aerarium).

=proximo bello, ne antiqua re-
petam.

Observe that there is no con-

they

amid universal applause

to the treasury

§ 10. And, not to go to an-
cient history, in the last war

ancient history

when there was need of money.....
And also, when

did not the widows and the un-
married assist the public funds
from their own?

negative. The prepositive *proximo* is contrasted with *regibus* of *regibus enosis* at the beginning of § 9.

The reference is to the Punic War.

= *antiqua*.

The neuter plural translates the specific noun of English. For *repetere* compare Cic. *De Inv.* 1. 1. "When I begin to trace the events of historic narrative" = *cum res... ex litterarum monumentis repetere incipiam*.

= *et, cum pecunia opus fuit, ... et, cum*.

Note the first (anticipatory) *et*, like *per* in *opatio per...ēreita* 24.

The word *pecunia* comes first to prepare us for the antithesis *dñi*, as if *pecunia per...dñi dñi*.

For *cum...fuit* see note on 34. 3. 7 *sed tamen cum fuit*. The second *cum* is followed by a subjunctive of attendant circumstances and the normal imperfect contemporaneous with *proferre* *auxi*.

= *nonne...viduarum pecuniae adiuverunt aerarium?*

The logical subject is "the widows and the unmarried"; therefore *viduarum* takes the place of the subject and is prepositive. The word *viduae* includes any husbandless woman of independent fortune.

For *nonne* cp. § 8.

Observe *pecuniae* despite *pecunia* just preceding. English varies; Latin repeats.

Note the position of *aerarium*—a single word after the verb.

=cum dii quoque novi...accerserentur.

The word "deities," if read intelligently, has stress by antithesis to *pecunia*. Livy brings this out by means of *quoque*, as if ὅτε καὶ οἱ θεοί, where καὶ="on the other hand." Thus *novi*, though more often prepositive (cp. *novus homo*) becomes postpositive.

=ad opem ferendam dubiis rebus.

Probably *dubiis rebus* is ablative of attendant circumstances. It might be dative, but the order is against its being so.

=matronae universae.

This is the eighth instance of *matronae* in this chapter)(variety of English.

The word *universae* (properly prepositive) = *cunctae*, i.e. *coniunctae* = ἅπασαι)(*πάσαι* = *omnes*. The place of the somewhat rare singular *cunctus* is supplied by *universus*.

=ad matrem Idaeam accipiendam?

The order of the phrase is that of a purpose clause and this may always follow the principal verb. Livy desires, also, to avoid the

new deities were called in

our desperate fortunes

not our matrons, one and all

they might greet the Holy
her of Ida?

§ 11. But, say you, the grounds
are different

Well, I have not set out

to prove them parallel

It is sufficient to make good my
plea that nothing unprecedented
has been done

cacophony of *ad mare ad matrem*
in juxtaposition.

=dissimiles, inquis, causae sunt.

The stress is on "different";
hence *dissimiles* comes first. Note
the absence of connective.

=nec mihi...propositum est.

Here *nec*=ἀλλ' οὐ. Compare
1. 27. 1, and 1. 53. 1.

For *mihi*, a quasi-dative of the
agent, see M. § 250 a.

=causas aequare.

Note the repetition of *causas*
where English has a pronoun.
Compare 3. 72. 6. "Greed and
its champion won the day"=plus
cupiditas et auctor cupiditatis
valet, and *passim* elsewhere. See
§ 9 on *urbs...urbe...urbs*.

=nihil novi factum purgare satis
est.

Observe the adversative asyn-
deton in both languages, and note
the omission of *esse* with *factum*.

For *novi*=unprecedented, see
34. 3. 3 on *novum*, and for *novum*
=English noun "novelty," see
34. 2. 10 on *in publico*. The geni-
tive *novi* is that of "the divided
whole" (Roby, § 1296).

Note *purgare*+acc. and infin.
="plead by way of excuse." The
verb is a favourite with Livy,
who uses it (1) as here; (2) with
se="excuse oneself"; (3) with
crimen, etc.="explain away,"
"make excuses for"; (4) =
"prove" (a rare meaning).

For (1) cp. 1. 9. 16 factum (sc. *esse*), 24. 47. 6, 28. 37. 2; (2) 1. 50. 8, 4. 25. 12, 6. 17. 7, 8. 32. 10, 34. 21. 2, 34. 61. 10, 35. 19. 2, 36. 32. 3, 37. 28. 1, 38. 14. 8, 42. 14. 4, 43. 4. 3, 43. 8. 1; (3) 8. 23. 4, 8. 37. 10, 36. 35. 11; (4) 9. 26. 17 *ut innocentiam suam purgarent*.

§ 12. however

= ceterum.

The word is typical of Livy. It occurs once in Terence, once in Cicero; otherwise not before Sallust.

If...no one marvelled at what the matrons did, why...should we wonder at their action?

= quod...fecisse eas nemo miratus est, (id)...miramur (eas) fecisse?

Lit. "What no one wondered that they did, that thing do we wonder that they have done?"

Observe this frequent idiom—the relative picked up by a demonstrative, either expressed or, as here, understood. [It is tempting to assume that *id* has dropped out before *in*.]

Compare "who steals my purse, (he) steals trash." So Greek *ὅς...ὁῖτος*. Modern English prefers "He who steals...", or "He steals trash, who ...," or (as in our passage) "If anyone steals my purse, he...." We still put the relative clause first with "whoever."

Note the repetition *fecisse... fecisse*, and *miratus...est...miramur*)(the variety of English.

no one

=nemo.

Note how this is put late, because the important part of the sentence lies in the words in *rebus ad omnis ...*)(*ad ipsas*.

under conditions

=in rebus, despite *rebus* in § 10.

For *res* see Index.

Here *in* expresses attendant circumstances.

which affected everybody

=ad omnis (=omnes)...*pertinentibus*.

men and women alike

=pariter, viros feminas.

This *in* Latin goes within the phrase *rebus...pertinentibus*.

For the bi-membral asyndeton *viros feminas* see M. § 434, and compare 35. 35. 7 *Antiochum... terras maria armis viris completurum*.

in a case which especially touches themselves

=in causa proprie ad ipsas *pertinente*.

Here *ad se* would be awkward because "themselves" does not refer to the subject of the principal verb, and because *eas* (the subject of *fecisse*) is not expressed. See 34. 5. 7 on *ad se* and on *pertinente* for *pertinenti*.

The adverb "especially" really qualifies "themselves" and in Latin must come immediately in front of *ad ipsas*. English is careless in such matters. See note at 34. 5. 2 on "has not only used."

action

=fecisse.

The noun > the Latin verb.

§ 13. Upon my soul

=me dius fidius.

This is often written *medius fidius*. Originally the phrase was *me deus fidius* (Ζεὺς πίστιος) *adiuvet*=“So help me the god of pledges” (*fides*, πίστις). Compare *mehercle*=*me Hercules adiuvet*.

Observe that there is no connective.

our ears are the ears of tyrants

=*superbas...aures habemus*.

The word *superbus*=haughty, tyrannical, cp. Tarquinius Superbus.

The phrase occurs again at 24. 5. 5 only, but hardly less bold is 45. 19. 9 “his ear had already been gained”=*occupatae iam aures*.

Note the English method of stressing “of tyrants”=“tyrannical,” and observe how Latin effects the same end by *order* i.e. *superbas* is prepositive and separated from its noun.

when masters do not disdain the prayers of their slaves

=*cum domini servorum non fastidiant preces*.

In English “slaves” has the upward intonation)(honourable women. Hence in Latin *servorum* is prepositive and separated from its noun. Moreover Latin is fond of grouping together antithetical terms. To a Roman *domini servorum* sounds like “To take the case of masters and slaves.”

Note the position of *preces*. Livy loves a single word after the verb, especially an iambus.

we are scandalised by the entreaties

of honourable women

Here *cum* is followed by the subjunctive of attendant circumstances, and nearly = although.

= *nos rogari...indignamur*.

The noun "entreaties" > the verb *rogari*.

= *ab honestis feminis*.

The adjective is prepositive. The stress on it suggests the antithesis *improbis, impudicis (servis)*.

CHAPTER VI

§ 1. And now I come

to the question at issue

Here

the consul's speech fell under two heads

= *venio nunc*.

Again there is no connective.

= *ad id de quo agitur*.

Here *agitur* is either impersonal or *res* may be supplied as subject.

The specific noun "question" > the Latin indefinite neuter *id*.

= *in quo*, despite *de quo* just preceding.

= *duplex consulis oratio fuit*.

The genitive *consulis* is prepositive, perhaps to draw attention to his official position. His arguments are the arguments of a *consul*—they carry official weight, and imply official responsibility. Compare the prepositive *consularis* in § 2, and the position of *consul* at 34. 7. 14.

The word *duplex* is, of course,

predicative. Were it merely an attribute, the order *duplex consulis oratio* would be normal. See 34. 4. 12 on *aequato omnium cultu*.

=nam et...et = τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ... τοῦτο δέ....

Note the connective *nam*.

=legem ullam abrogari est indignatus.

The noun "repeal" > the verb. The pronominal adjective *ullus* is used because "any" is emphatic, and excludes all)(*quivis, quilibet*, which include all. Thus "Anyone can jump a foot" = *quivis, quilibet*)("Can anyone jump fifty feet?" = *num quisquam...?*

Of *quisquam* the adjective is *ullus* and from *ullus* it gets its feminine.

The rule for *quisquam* and *ullus* is: use them after negatives expressed or implied (as after a comparative); in emphatic statements (e.g. *si quisquam* = if *anyone*); to express the minimum, as in Seneca's *cuius potest accidere quod cuiquam potest* i.e. "What can happen to *anyone* (if only one in the universe) can happen to everyone."

=ullam omnino = νόμον καὶ ὄντι- νοῦν.

=est indignatus, despite *indignamur* ("we are scandalised") at the end of the previous chapter)(variety of English.

first...; secondly...

he strongly objected to the repeal of any law

any whatsoever

strongly objected

secondly to the repeal, in particular, of a law

for the suppression of female extravagances

§ 2. This universal defence... while the attack

universal defence of legislation

seemed a fit topic for a consul

=et eam praecipue legem.

Note the anticipatory *eam* = "a" of English, where a relative follows. The adverb *praecipue*, which ought to precede *eam*, gains emphasis.

=quae luxuriae muliebris coercendae causa lata esset.

The noun "suppression" > the verb *coercendae*. For the gerundive to turn an abstract noun cp. 1. 1. 1 "advocates of Helen's restoration" =reddendae Helenae auctores.

=et illa (the former) communis... oratio..., et haec (the latter) adversus.

There is, I think, no connective. The first *et* = μέν or τε; the second *et* = δέ or καί.

The stiff and formal *illa...haec*—"the former"... "the latter"—while typical of Latin, is unnatural to English.

=communis pro legibus (sc. oratio).

See note on 34. 1. 5 *aditus in forum*.

=visa consularis oratio est.

For the prepositive (because predicative) *consularis* compare *consulis oratio* in § 1. Latin repeats *oratio*; English varies—"speech"... "topic."

Observe the separation of the auxiliary *est* from *visa*. Livy does this frequently. Perhaps here *visa* gains stress by its position. See M. § 465, Obs. 4.

the attack on luxury

=haec adversus luxuriam (sc. oratio).

See note at 34. 1. 5 on *aditus in forum*. Observe the repeated *luxuriam* despite *luxuriae muliebris* in § 1. Contrast the variety of English.

was well-suited to an austere morality

=severissimis moribus conveniebat.

The underlying idea of *severus* is fixed, rigid, puritanical. See Duff on Lucretius 5. 1190 *signa severa*, where he explains the epithet as denoting the "purity and coldness of the starlight." Probably there is an idea of fixity as well.

§ 3. there is danger that dust may be thrown in your eyes

Thus Tennyson's "Beneath the stony face of time" would be *sub temporis ore severo*.

=periculum est...ne quis error vobis offundatur.

Here *error*=liability to err, to get lost (in the darkness), and the metaphor is kept up in *offundatur*—a verb so often used with *tenebrae*, *nox*, *caligo*, etc.

The form *quis* adjectival, for *qui* is not uncommon. See M. § 90. 1.

unless we show

=nisi...docuerimus.

The verb is probably future perfect. It is future because *periculum est*=*aliquid mali accidit*, and future perfect because antecedent in time to *accidet*.

the fallacy which underlies each objection

=quid in utraque re vani sit.

Lit. "What of folly is in each

thing." For the neuter adjective *vani*=a noun see at 34. 2. 10 on *in publico*.

Note the separation of the genitive *vani* from *quid*. See at 34. 2. 1 on *minus...negotii*.

each

=utraque—because there are *two* objections)(*quaque* of more than two.

objection

=*re*.

See Index.

§§ 4, 5. Speaking for myself, I

=*ego enim*.

The English expression is merely a way of emphasising "I")(others. Therefore *ego* is inserted. Note the connective *enim*.

Observe how in these sections we have *two* main sentences: (1) "Speaking for myself, I admit...nugatory"; (2) "On the other hand...with changing times." Contrast the *one* sentence of Latin, with its formal precision—*ego enim quem ad modum...fateor, ...sic...video*. The phrase *quem ad modum...sic* = *ut...ita* = τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δέ = "though...yet."

The antithetical words are "I admit")("I see"; they therefore have stress, and in Latin come late; for verbs which take the accusative and infinitive come early unless emphatic.

laws which are passed...should in no case be repealed

= *ex iis legibus, quae...latae sunt, nullam abrogari debere*.

are passed

Note the anticipatory *iis*.
= *latae sunt*.

Here "are passed" = "have

been passed" i.e. a complete (perfect) present. Obviously the passage of a law is antecedent in time to its possible repeal. The principal verb *debere* is present; therefore the subordinate verb is present, and complete present because antecedent in time.

The indicative is not unusual in subordinate clauses of Orat. Obl. when the principal verb is 1st person. See *Madv. De Fin.* 1. 17. 55, and cp. *Pro Cluent.* 2. 6, and 57. 158.

not to meet some special need

=non in tempus aliquod.

Here, as often, *tempus* = *καίρος* = a critical time. The pronoun *aliquod* is abnormally postpositive, because it expresses emphatically "some special, considerable, important" occasion.

So below, *status aliquis* and *tempora aliqua*.

but (are passed) to stand for all time because of their permanent utility

=sed perpetuae utilitatis causa in aeternum latae sunt.

Observe *perpetuae* prepositive, in chiasmic contrast to *aliquod* postpositive = "some special (occasion)."

Note too how "not to meet... utility" comes within the clause *quem ad modum...fateor*, whereas the limitation *nisi quam...fecit* comes, as an afterthought should do, after "fateor." This order is naturally common with clauses introduced by *nisi forte* and *nisi vero*.

unless either experience has proved
them a mistake

= nisi quam aut usus coarguit.

Lit. (of course) "unless (it be one) which...."

Livy has at 45. 32. 7 an interesting parallel: "He gave to Macedonia laws...so wisely framed that even lengthy experience—the only true test of legislation—found nothing to which exception could be taken" = *leges Macedoniae dedit...quas (=tales ut) ne usus quidem longo tempore, qui unus est legum corrector, experiendo argueret.*

[In this passage note (1) how the English "nothing" comes early in Latin, so that "even...nothing" > "not even (anything)"; (2) the Livian pleonasm *usus...experiendo*; (3) the repetition *leges...legum* (English variety; (4) *longo tempore*—the ablative may be used where the adjective expresses duration. See the examples quoted by Roby § 1185, and add *Caes. B.C. 1. 81. 3 tota nocte*; *B.G. 1. 26. 5 tota nocte continenter* ierunt. This last justifies *B.C. 1. 46. 1 pugnatum est continenter* horis quinque.]

The verb *coarguere* like *arguere* in 45. 32. 7 and ἐξελέγειν = to "show up (the weaknesses of)." Compare 34. 54. 8 *veteribus, nisi quae usus evidenter arguit, stari malunt* = men prefer to abide by tradition, save where experience plainly condemns.

Livy has *usus* subject to a transitive verb eleven times, but always with an inanimate object or with no object expressed. See Appendix A.

=status aliquis rei publicae.

For the order of *aliquis* see above on *tempus aliquod*. The form *aliquis* for the regular adjectival *aliqui* is not infrequent.

The order of *rei publicae* seems to show that it is felt both as genitive with *status* and then again as dative (*ἀπὸ κοινῶν*) with *inutilem*.

=inutilem fecit.

At 34. 27. 6 we have *si quos suspectos status praesens rerum faceret*.

These two are the only cases in Livy of *status* subject to a transitive verb. But *facere* with an abstract or inanimate subject is extremely common in Latin. See Appendix A.

=sic, answering *quem ad modum*.

=*quas tempora aliqua desiderarunt leges*.

For the position of *aliqua* see above, § 4 on *in tempus aliquod*.

Note the order of *leges*—a single word after the verb.

The word *tempus* occurs some 39 times in Livy as subject to a transitive verb (cp. 34. 6. 10), but in only 6 of these 39 cases is the object a person. See Appendix A.

The adverb "once" is trans-

some particular condition of the
body politic

rendered nugatory

§ 5. On the other hand
laws once demanded by special
situations

lated by the tense of *desiderarunt* i.e. "have demanded"—complete present.

Observe that we say: "laws which special situations have demanded, I see to be...": Latin says "what laws special situations have demanded, these I see to be...." The relative is more often than not "picked up" by the demonstrative. Here we might have *eas* before *mortales*.

I see to be "mortal" (if I may use the word)

=*mortales*, ut ita dicam,...*esse* video.

The position of *video* gives it emphasis—I don't think, I know; I see the process for myself. See note at the beginning of § 4.

Livy here apologises for the bold *mortales*. At 2. 44. 8 he speaks of *imperia* (empires) as *mortalia*, without apology.

and liable to change with changing times

=et temporibus ipsis mutabiles.

The ablative *temporibus* is partly temporal, partly causal. Observe the repetition § 4 *tempus*, § 5 *tempora* and *temporibus*. Contrast the variety of English: "need," "situations," "times."

§ 6. Measures adopted in peace are generally rescinded

=*quae in pace lata sunt*, plerumque bellum abrogat.

Observe that there is no connective. "Measures" = *quae*, i.e. a neuter pronoun translates the specific noun of English.

generally

Note *in pace*, where *in* expresses attendant circumstances. = *plerumque*.

The position of *plerumque* (separated from *abrogat*) gives it stress, and therefore gives it the meaning "generally." In its normal position (immediately before the verb) it would probably mean "often," for in Livy, though not in Cicero, it usually weakens to the sense *saepe*. So in Cicero *plerique* = "most," but in Livy usually = "many."

The word *bellum* is subject to a transitive verb 44 times in Livy, but *pax* only 6 times. See Appendix A.

= quae in bello, pax (sc. abrogat).

Note the asyndeton at *quae*, almost invariable with a relative. Greek would write *ἀ μὲν...ἀ δὲ...*

= ut in navis administratione.

Here *in* = "in the case of." In the English there is a simile, but the fact is not formally shown. Contrast Latin which inserts "just as" (*ut*) and ties with the preceding sentence.

= alia.

Again the Latin neuter expresses the specific noun of English.

= usui sunt.

For the predicative dative see Roby, *Syntax*, Pref. xxvii. sqq. = in secunda (sc. tempestate).

Here, again, *in* expresses attendant circumstances.

= alia in adversa tempestate.

Both English and Latin have asyndeton here) (τὰ μὲν...τὰ δὲ....

The adjectives "good" and "bad" are antithetical and therefore are stressed. Thus *secunda* is kept waiting for its noun, and *adversa* is prepositive.

=haec cum.

Note that *haec* precedes the conjunction of its clause, although not subject to the principal clause also. This draws our attention emphatically to *ea lex*, when we find it to be the subject of the principal sentence, and we are helped to feel that *ea lex* is a special case of a general classification *haec*.

=haec.

The loose neuter suffices. All is made plain by the preceding context. The two types are laws *in tempus aliquod* and laws *perpetuae utilitatis* (§ 4).

=(cum) ita natura distincta sint
=διάφορα πέφυκεν.

=ex utro tandem genere ea lex esse videtur...?

We have *ex utro* (not *ex quo*) because there are only *two* classes. For *tandem* (= "pray") cp. *quis tandem?* τίς ποτε;

Note the anticipatory *ea* which allows the relative clause to follow (instead of preceding) the principal sentence.

=quam abrogamus.

The noun "repeal" > the verb.

§ 7. Since then these

these two types of legislation

are inherently so different

to which type, think you, does this law belong?

whose repeal is proposed

The tense of *abrogamus* is "con-
ative present" = "we are for re-
pealing." Compare 34. 1. 7 on
quae abrogabatur.

=quid? = $\tau\acute{\iota}$ δέ; $\tau\acute{\iota}$ γάρ;
=vetus regia lex (sc. est)...?

The two adjectives, being em-
phatic, are prepositive. Note the
piling up of ideas—"is it old,
with an unbroken history (*vetus*),
and does it date back to the kings
(*rēgia*)?"

For *vetus* see 34. 3. 3 on
novum, and for the adjectives
without connective cp. 44. 5. 3
longi duo validi asseres, and 27.
22. 12 naves longas triginta ve-
teres.

See M. § 300, Obs. 5.

=simul cum ipsa urbe natā.

The noun "life" > the verb in
Latin.

=aut.

For the use of *aut* by itself,
see M. § 436.

This *aut* is frequent in enu-
merations. Compare the special
case "two or at most three" = duo
aut summum tres.

In a bi-membral question, or
in any question, *aut* extends,
while *an* excludes. Thus "Is he
good or bad?" = *utrum bonus est*
an malus? Here the answer must
be "good" or "bad." Contrast
estne bonus aut sapiens? To
this the answer may be "He is
neither"; for the Latin sounds

§ 8. Well,

is it some ancient enactment of
the kings

as old as the life of our city

Or

to take the era following

when the decemvirs were appointed to draw up a code

was it included by them in the XII Tables?

Did our ancestors regard...and therefore must *we* fear...?

like: "Is he good or wise or what is he?"

=quod secundum est.

Lit. "the thing which is next"

=τό γε ἐπιγινόμενον.

The neuter pronoun translates the specific noun "era."

=ab decemviris ad condenda iura creatis.

For the order see 34. 4. 12 on *aequato omnium cultu*. Here the noun *decemviris* comes first because we want the name of the new era, decemviral)(regal, to come early and ticket, as it were, the new phrase. The prepositive *regia* has already prepared us.

=in duodecim tabulis scripta.

Latin preserves parallelism: English has a new question formally expressed as such. Latin says: "Is it an old regal law, born with the city...or...written in the XII Tables?"

The words "by them" are not needed because they are most neatly expressed by inserting *ab* with *decemviris*.

=cum maiores nostri...existimant...nobis quoque verendum...?

For the form of sentence cp. "I am tired *and* therefore am going" = *cum fessus sim, discedo*, or, *quod fessus sum, idcirco discedo*. See 34. 6. 9 (p. 153), and 34. 7. 3 (p. 175).

Note *nobis quoque* = καὶ ἡμῶν φοβητέον.

Again English has a fresh question; Latin ties closely with the preceding by a relative, i.e. by *sine qua=ut* (so that) *sine ea*.

Observe how to translate: "I regard it (a law) as essential to the preservation of wifely honour" = *sine ea non existimo decus matronale servari posse*, where the noun "preservation" becomes the verb.

= *sine qua cum maiores nostri non existimarint decus matronale servari posse, nobis quoque verendum sit...*?

Observe that *ut sine ea (sine qua)* goes both with *cum...servari posse* and with *verendum sit*.

The form *existimarint* is somewhat rare in Livy, but cp. *pugnarint* 2. 46. 1.

= *ne cum ea pudorem sanctitatemque feminarum abrogemus?*

The verb *abrogare* has occurred four times already in this chapter, viz. in §§ 1, 4, 6, and 7. Contrast the variety of English—"repeal," "rescind," "repeal" (noun), "annul." It occurs again in §§ 9 and 10, = "repeal" (noun), and "abolition."

= *quis igitur nescit...*?

So Greek *τίς ἄρα ἀγνοεῖ τοῦθ' ὅτι...*; see 34. 6. 16 on "Anyone can see."

= *novam istam legem esse*.

The point is that there has been nothing like it before; there-

Did our ancestors regard it as essential to the preservation of wifely honour, and therefore must we fear...?

that, in annulling it, we annul also the purity and sanctity of womanhood?

§ 9. But everyone knows

that this is a law without precedent

fore *novam* comes first. For *novus* see note 34. 3. 3 on *novum*.

The law is also *recens* (i.e. has been in existence for a short time), as what follows makes clear. The speaker prefers the more invidious term *novam*, although he really means *recentem*.

The word "this" would be said with a sneer ("this precious law"); hence *istam*.

carried twenty years ago

= viginti ante annis latam.

The ablative is one of "measure of difference," i.e. "before by (the measure of) twenty years."

in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius

The Lex Oppia was passed in B.C. 215 and repealed in B.C. 195, the present year.

= Q. Fabio et Ti. Sempronio consulibus.

These words must precede *latam*, for the phrase "carried 20 years ago" is constructionally complete at *latam*, and anything that followed would gain emphasis because unexpected.

When, as here, the *praenomina* of the consuls are inserted, we more often find "bimembral asyndeton." See note 34. 1. 3.

Observe that the abstract "consulship" > concrete *consulibus*.

Without it

= sine qua.

women lived..., and why, pray, is there danger...?

The relative acts as a connective.

= cum...matronae...vixerint, quod tandem...periculum est?

The “and” = “and therefore”; hence the form of expression. See § 8 above on “and therefore must we fear...?”

For this “and” = “and therefore” cp. Perceval, *History of Italy*: “The circuit of the walls was immense..., and Frederic found that to attack them with the battering ram...would be in vain” = *Fredericus, cum murorum ingens circuitus esset...sensit nequiquam se arietes admoturum.*
= *per tot annos.*

Note how the phrase is brought forward for emphasis. In *Pref.* § 5 we get *tot per annos* with stress on *tot* by separation, cp. *Cic. Cat.* 1. 7. 16 *quis te...tot ex tuis amicis...salutavit?*
= *optimis moribus vixerint.*

Observe the stress on *optimis* prepositive.

The ablative *moribus* is one of attendant circumstances—“their character (being) very good.”

The tense of *vixerint* is uncertain. It may be “historical perfect” (see M. § 335 *a*) or “complete present.” The latter is due to the fact that *periculum est* is present; therefore the subordinate clause is present also, and “complete present,” because antecedent in time to *est*. This I believe to be the true explanation of such instances as *scio quanto in honore apud Graecos fuerit musica*; lit.

for all those years

lived lives beyond reproach

why, pray, is there danger that...?

its repeal may lead to an outbreak
of voluptuousness

"...how honoured it *has been*,"
not "was." In such a case, as
in our passage, the imperfect
would, of course, be impossible.
(See M. § 382, Obs. 5.)

=quod tandem (=τίς ποτε κίνδυ-
νος), ne...periculum est?

=(ne) abrogata ea effundantur ad
luxuriam.

The noun "repeal" > verb,
and, as the verb contains the
point ("repeal" has stress), it
comes first. If we had *ea abro-
gata* the sense would be "*its re-
peal*."

The personification of "repeal"
(acting as leader) is avoided by
putting *abrogata ea* in the abla-
tive. See note on 34. 5. 8 *nonne
intercursu matronarum*.

The noun "outbreak" > verb.
For the phrase cp. 44. 31. 13 *ad
preces lacrimasque effusus*. But
in is more frequent, cp. 36. 11. 3
in luxuriam eff., 25. 20. 7 *in licen-
tiam socordiamque eff.*, 29. 23. 4 *in
Venerem* (licentiousness) *eff.*, 33.
18. 18 and 35. 5. 12 *in fugam
effusi* (cp. *effusa fuga* 1. 27. 10,
effusa praedandi licentia 22. 3. 9,
and *effuse populari* 41. 10. 2), and,
lastly, 42. 30. 2 *in Romanos effusi*,
which seems to equal *in amorem
Romanorum effusi*.

=nam si ista lex vetus...esset.

§ 10. If this measure had been
one of long standing

Note the connective)(English.
For *vetus*)(*antiquus* see 34. 3. 3
on *novum*. Here *vetus* is a con-

jecture. It seems better to read *aut vetus*. The scribe's eye caught the second *aut*, and omitted *aut vetus*. Madv. *Emend. Livian.* p. 497, § 398 suggests *aut antiqua aut*.

As to *ista* see above, § 9.

= *aut ideo lata esset*, ut....

If we are to read this *aut* without a preceding *aut*, then it = "or at any rate." See M. § 436.

Note the anticipatory *ideo*.

= *ut finiret libidinem muliebrem*.

The verb "limit" has stress and therefore comes early. The order gives the effect of "to limit indulgence and in women." See 34. 1. 6.

The noun *lex* is used by Livy as a subject to a transitive verb 29 times. See note on 34. 4. 13 and Appendix A.

= *verendum foret*.

Lit. "there would have been being an obligation to fear."

More often the auxiliary is indicative (here it would be *erat*) with the gerund. See Roby, § 1520.

Livy often uses *foret* as a mere equivalent of *esset*; sometimes for euphony, as here and at 1. 46. 3 *ut...ultimum...regnum esset quod scelere partum foret*.

For *foret* see M. § 377, Obs. 2. = *ne abrogata*.

The noun of English > the verb. So "from the building of the city" = *ab urbe condita*.

or passed in order to

to limit feminine indulgence

there would be reason to fear

that its abolition

might prove an incitement

but the grounds of its adoption

may be seen in the circumstances themselves

The use of the participle is frequent both with a personal subject, and a non-personal subject. For the former cp. l. 34. 3 "Lucumo's pride was only increased by his *marriage* with Tanaquil" = Lucumoni ... animos auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil; for the latter cp. l. 14. 9. "Their alarm was redoubled by a *movement* from the camp" = addunt pavorem mota e castris signa.
=incitaret.

The noun of English > the verb. English could say: "might incite it (*libidinem*)," but Latin simply supplies the object in such cases.

=cur sit autem lata.

The noun "adoption" > verb. Words like "ground," "reason," "cause," etc. + a genitive may often be turned by a dependent question, e.g. "I know the reason of his absence" = scio quare absit ille. So Greek οἶδα δι' οὗτι ἄπειστιν οὗτος.

Observe *autem* third, and see M. § 471, Obs. 1. The effect (as M. points out) is to stress *cur*.
=ipsum indicabit tempus.

Greek would say αὐτὰ (=the facts themselves) δείξει.

For *tempus* subject to a transitive verb see on 34. 6. 5.

Note the single word after the verb.

§ 11.

the victor of Cannae

Note no connective, and observe the asyndetic style in §§ 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 18.
=victor ad Cannas.

A prepositional phrase here qualifies a noun of strong verbal meaning (see 34. 1. 5 on *aditus in forum*): *victor* equals a perfect participle of *vinco* = *victor factus* = νενικηκώς, νικῶν.

Livy freely uses prepositions with names of towns, where the neighbourhood merely is denoted.

Thus *ad Cannas* would mean "to" or "in the neighbourhood of C." and *a Cannis* "from the neighbourhood of C."

Tarentum, Arpi, and Capua
were already in his hands

=iam Tarentum, iam Arpos, iam Capuam habebat.

Note the rhetorical repetition of *iam* (anaphora) and contrast English.

§ 12. Rome itself was thought
to be the objective of his army

=ad urbem Romam admoturus (esse) exercitum videbatur.

Note how "*It* seemed that he would come" = "*He* seemed, was thought to be, about to come" = *venturus esse videbatur* = Greek ἐδόκει (he was thought) μέλλειν ἵέναι.

The noun "objective" is turned by a verb in Latin. For the phrase cp. *machinam admovere* (Cic. *Pro Cluent.* § 36), and English "bring up the guns."

our allies had revolted

=defecerant socii.

The order is effective. Hannibal was approaching; a revolt

there were no soldiers to take the
place of the fallen

had occurred and among the
allies.

=non milites in supplementum
...(habebamus).

no seamen

Observe the position of *non*,
brought forward for emphasis in
this and the two following clauses.

=non socios navales...(habeba-
mus).

The sailors were mainly drawn
from freedmen of allies and "co-
lonists" (*coloni maritimi*).

Livy writes both *socii navales*
and *navales socii* (each ten times),
but always *duumviri navales*.
Here he puts *socios* first to remind
us, perhaps, that the *socii* had
revolted.

o man the fleet

=ad classem tuendam.

The word *tueri* also includes
equipping and keeping in order.
Compare τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύειν
(Thuc. 2. 65. 7).

no money in the treasury

=non pecuniam in aerario habebamus.

slaves were being purchased to
bear arms

=servi, quibus arma darentur, ...
emebantur.

the price for whom was to be
paid to their owners

Here *quibus*=*ut* (in order that)
iis....

=ita ut pretium pro iis...dominis
solveretur.

Of course *pro iis* properly goes
with the verb *solveretur*. The
genitive *eorum* governed by *pre-
tium* would mean much the same.

When *ita* comes close to *ut*, a
limitation or condition is usually
implied. Literally the phrase

runs thus: "on these terms (*ita*) viz. that (*ut*) a price *was to be paid*"—a sort of jussive running into a concessive subjunctive. Compare 1. 3. 5 *pax ita convenerat ut fluvius...finis esset*, lit. "peace was arranged on these terms (*ita*) namely that (*ut*) the river *was to be* the boundary." Greek would write *ξυνέβησαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε· τὸν μὲν ποταμὸν εἶναι ὄρον κ.τ.λ.*, where *εἶναι* is a survival of the infinitive = imperative, as in Homer. = bello perfecto.

on the conclusion of hostilities

The noun "conclusion" > the verb. The phrase must come within its clause *ut...solveretur*. (Contrast English order.) Properly it qualifies *solveretur*, and should immediately precede the verb. But it has stress, for, normally, the payment would have been made at once; and, furthermore, the order *pro iis dominis* would produce ambiguity. = in eandem diem pecuniae.

§ 13. up to the same date of settlement

For the position of *pecuniae* see 34. 1. 3 on *in medio ardore Punici belli* (p. 31).

Observe that *dies* in the singular is feminine when it means (1) "time," cp. *volvenda dies*, (2) a date (as here), (3) a day fixed for legal proceedings, cp. *die constituta*.

For *in diem* cp. "ready against our coming," and Greek *ἐς τὴν δεκάτην ἡμέραν*.

the tax-farmers
had promised to contract for the
supply of

= publicani.
= praebenda.....se conducturos
(esse) professi erant.

The noun "supply" > the verb
praebenda.

Note that "They contract for
the building of the house" =
domum aedificandam conducunt) (
"They call for contracts for the
building of the house" = domum
aedificandam locant.

corn and other necessities of war

For the gerundive with these
words and with *curo, do, trado* etc.,
see Roby, § 1401 and *Pref. lxxvi*.
= frumentum et cetera quae belli
usus postulabant.

slaves to act as rowers...were
being provided by us

Livy has almost the same
phrase at 26. 43. 7 *quae belli usus*
poscunt. For *usus* as subject to
a transitive verb see on 34. 6. 4
nisi quam (legem) usus coarguit.
See also Appendix A.

= servos ad remum...dabamus.

the number fixed in proportion
to income

W. takes *ad remum* with *da-*
bamus.

= numero ex censu constituto.

as well as pay

For *ex* = "in accordance with"
= κατὰ + accusative, cp. *ex sen-*
tentia mea; and for the position
of *ex censu* see note on 34. 4. 12
aequato omnium cultu.

= cum stipendio nostro.

§ 14. all our gold and silver

One is tempted to read *nostros*
in agreement with *servos*.

= aurum et argentum omne.

Note stress on *omne*: an ad-
jective of quantity is, usually,
prepositive.

(senators had set the example)

=ab senatoribus eius rei initio orto.

Lit. "the beginning of the (*eius*) thing having started with (*ab*, cp. ἀρχεσθαι ἀπό) the senators."

For the typical Livian pleonasm *initio orto* cp. *Pref.* § 12 *querelae* ...*ab initio...ordiendae rei absint.*

=in publicum conferebamus.

So Greek ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐσέφερον μιν.

=viduae et pupilli.

For *viduae* see on 34. 5. 10.

=pecunias suas in aerarium deferbant.

The plural of *pecunia* (cp. "moneys") like the plural of *fortuna* is frequent even when we are speaking of one person.

The *aerarium* was till B.C. 83 in the Temple of Saturn at the west end of the Forum.

The *de* of *defero* is probably due to the fact that people had to come *down* to the Forum from their residences on the hills of Rome. Compare *in forum descendere* and, perhaps, *ad accusandum descendere* (Cic. *Caec.* 1. 1) and *in causam descendere* (Cic. *Phil.* 8. 2. 4, and Livy 36. 7. 6).

=cautum erat.

Cicero often adds *in lege, in legibus*; Silver writers have *lege, legibus*.

=quo ne plus auri...domi haberemus.

Lit. "there was laid down (the

we were contributing to the public service

widows, unmarried women, and wards

were taking what they possessed to the treasury

it was provided by law

that we should have at home not more than a certain amount of... gold

amount) than which not more of gold...we were to have."

The *quo* is ablative of comparison, and *haberemus* is dependent jussive.

W. quotes the fuller form of expression from Suet. *Jul.* 19 *cautum est de numero gladiatorum, quo ne maiorem habere liceret* = "The law laid down the maximum number of gladiators which a man might possess." A good instance too is Cic. *ad Fam.* 7. 2. 1 *prae-finisti quo ne pluris emerem* = "you fixed the price beyond which I was not to go"; lit. "you fixed the price (sc. *pretium*) than which not at more I was to buy."

= *auri et argenti facti*.

Contrast *infecti* = "unwrought," and *signati* = stamped, coined.

= *quo ne plus*.

Observe the rhetorical anaphora of Latin.

= *signati argenti et aeris*.

* Note that *signati* is prepositional, thus forming a chiasmus with *argenti facti* preceding.

= *tali tempore in luxuria et ornatu matronae occupatae erant*...?

Livy uses either *in* + ablative, or the plain ablative with *occupatus*. The latter construction is less frequent.

The word "so" is required here in English, and its omission is rare in Latin. Indeed the rule may be laid down that *ut* con-

of wrought gold and silver

or

of silver and bronze coin

§ 15. at such a time, were the wives so given up to luxurious adornment...?

secutive must have some anticipatory word in the principal clause such as *adeo, ita*, etc. Perhaps *ita* has dropped out before *in*, or should be read in place of *in*. Livy, however, omits *ita* at 3. 44. 1 and 9. 5. 6.

Observe the hendiadys *luxuria et ornatu*, and compare 34. 7. 5 "bitter indignation" = *dolor et indignatio* (p. 180).

Here *luxuria* and *ornatu* come early because they are logical subjects, as if the sentence ran: "did luxurious adornment fill the thoughts of the wives...?"

that the Oppian law was needed for its repression?

= *ut ad eam coercendam Oppia lex desiderata sit*.

The noun "repression" > a verb *coercendam*.

The repression of luxuriousness is the important idea and therefore comes early.

In the hendiadys *luxuria et ornatu* the first word is the more emphatic and *eam* is made to agree with it.

Observe *Oppia* prepositive as at 34. 1. 2 *de Oppia lege abroganda*. Here there is a variant *lex Oppia*, and Madvig, *Emend. Livian.* p. 497, § 398, would omit *Oppia* on the ground that a general reference to a law is better suited to the context.

The aorist perfect (*desiderata sit*) is frequent in Livy in a consecutive clause (cp. 34. 14. 8

reprehenderit). Cicero, however, prefers the imperfect subjunctive; he still felt that the subjunctive should express a tendency rather than an *actual* result. Thus in "he is foolish enough to do it" (*ita stultus est ut id faciat*) we have a legitimate use of the mood = $\tilde{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ + infinitive; but in "he is so foolish that he does it" (*ita stultus est ut id faciat*) we get an actual result expressed by the subjunctive = $\tilde{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ + indicative. This is really an illegitimate extension of the subjunctive, and, in past time, Cicero salved his conscience, as it were, by using a tense of incompletion—the imperfect. = cum, quia Cereris sacrificium... intermissum erat.

Why, owing to the abandonment of Ceres' sacrifice

The noun "abandonment" > the verb.

The genitive *Cereris* is prepositive because *her* festival, being a woman's festival, ought not to have been abandoned by women. = lugentibus omnibus matronis.

(for all the women were in mourning)

The words *lugere* and *luctus* are properly used of mourning for the dead.

The phrase must, of course, be set within the clause *quia... intermissum erat*; otherwise it would brim over and acquire unnecessary emphasis. Note the repetition *matronis* after *matronae* above)(variety of English "women"... "wives."

the senate commanded that the period of such mourning should be limited to thirty days!

=senatus finiri luctum triginta diebus iussit.

Note the stress on *finiri* coming early, as if "ordered that there should be an *end* of mourning and within thirty days."

The ordinary period of mourning was ten months.

The ablative *triginta diebus* is ablative of "time within which." See M. § 276, Obs. 5.

At 22. 56. 5 Livy stresses *triginta* by making it postpositive. The whole passage deserves quotation—*adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit* (note the aorist perfect in a consecutive clause), *quia neclugentibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa tempestate* (i.e. after Cannae) *matrona expers luctus fuerat. itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus.*

=cui non appāret...?

The positive assertion of English may often be translated by a negative question in Latin and Greek. Here *cui non apparet?* = $\pi\omega\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\ \delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\ldots$; Compare 34. 6. 9 "But everyone knows" = *quis igitur nescit...?*

=*miseriam civitatis.*

For the genitive see 34. 1. 5 on "in the city" = *urbis* (p. 39). = "in that," "because" = *quia.*

§ 16. Anyone can see

that the...distress *in* the country

when

every private citizen had to divert
his money to the public use

=omnium privatorum pecuniae
in usum publicum vertendae erant.

In Latin the logical subject
“every private citizen,” although
not nominative, comes first. This
prepositive genitive is answered
by *publicum*—postpositive and
chiastic.

were responsible for this piece of
legislation

For *pecuniae* see 34. 6. 14.
=istam legem scripsisse.

The word *istam* (1)=“that to
which you (Cato) refer”; (2) con-
tains a sneer and represents “piece
of” in the English.

The personification of *inopiam*
and *miseriam* as drawing up a law
is very bold. The nearest approach
is at 9. 13. 9 *profectos...inopia vex-*
avit, and 40. 14. 2 *miseria haec et*
metus crāpulam facile excusserunt.

which was to remain on the statute
book only so long as

Livy has *inopia* seven times
subject to a transitive verb (only
twice with a *personal* object), and
miseria thrice (never with a *per-*
sonal object). See Appendix A.
=tam diu mansuram, quam diu.

The phrase “on the statute
book” is merely ornamental, and
needs no reproduction in Latin.

Note the anticipatory *tam diu*
formally picked up by *quam diu*.
This anticipatory phrase helps to
translate “only” of English. Com-
pare “he only did it to pain her”
=*eo rem fecit ut dolore afficeret*
eam.

(so long as) the reason for its
enactment continued to exist

=(quam diu) causa scribendae
legis mansisset.

Note "reason for" > "reason of"; see 34. 1. 5 "in the city" = *urbis* (p. 39).

The noun "enactment" > verb. Observe the repetition *scripsisse... scribendae*)(variety of English "responsible for"... "enactment."

The pronoun "its" is turned by *legis* after *legem* above. Compare 3. 72. 6. "But greed and *its* champion won the day" = *sed plus cupiditas et auctor cupiditatis valet.*

continued to exist

= *mansisset.*

Again repetition—*mansuram* above)(variety of English "to remain on the statute book"... "continued to exist."

The pluperfect represents a future perfect in the recta, i.e. *inopia... legem scripsit* (has framed) *tam diu mansuram quam diu causa... manserit*, where *tam diu mansuram* = *quae tam diu manebit.*

The tense *manserit* becomes *mansisset* to suit the past tense *scripsisse.*

§ 17. For if the measures

= *nam si, quae.*

then decreed by the senate or passed by the assembly

The neuter plural translates the specific noun of English.

= (*quae*) *tunc... aut decrevit senatus aut populus iussit.*

Note the first anticipatory *aut.* English does not need its insertion.

Observe too the elaborate chiasmus *decrevit senatus... populus iussit.*

to meet the circumstances of the moment

ought to hold good for all time
why do we refund moneys to private persons?

Why do we call for state contracts?

on the basis of immediate payment

=temporis causa.

Note the repetition of *causa* just after *causă* at the end of the preceding section.

The two words are brought forward (of course within the relative clause) for emphasis, and prepare us for the contrast—in *perpetuum*. Again *tempus*=καίρós.
=in perpetuum servari oportet.

=cur pecunias reddimus privatis?

For *pecunias* see on 34. 6. 14. Note the repetition *privatis* after *privatorum* in § 16)(English variety: "private citizen"... "private person."

Here *privatis* is put last to contrast it with *publica* in the next sentence.

The *re* in *reddo* not merely expresses "back," but also "what is due." Compare *reddere epistulam*=to deliver a letter; Greek ἀποδιδόναι ἐπιστολήν with ἀπό as in ἀπαιτεῖν.

=cur publica...locamus?

Here, again, the neuter plural (aided by the sense of *locare*) translates the specific noun ("contracts") of the English.

For *locare* and *conducere* see on 34. 6. 13 (p. 160).

=praesenti pecunia.

Lit. "at the (price of) money paid in cash (*praesenti*)."

Compare *pecuniam repraesentare* (Cic. Att. 12. 25. 1) and Livy 36. 4. 7 *stipendium...praesens dare*;

44. 27. 9 *talenta ... praesentia dare*; 44. 25. 12 *partem (pecuniae)...praesentem ferre* (=carry off); 45. 42. 11 *pretium eorum ...praesens exigere*.

The adjective *praesenti* is prepositive in contrast with the delayed payment of § 13.

=*cur servi, qui militent, non emuntur?*

Here *qui*=*ut* (in order that) *ii.* =*cur privati non damus remiges...?*

Note the repetition *privati, privatis* (§ 17), *privatorum* (§ 16), and contrast the variety of English: "as individuals"... "private persons"... "private citizen."

Observe the single word *remiges* after the verb, as so often. Here, perhaps, the position suggests the contrast *qui militent*.

=*sicut*=*ὥσπερ καὶ (τότε)*.

=*tunc dedimus*.

English could say "exactly as we *did* before." Latin, more often, uses repetition of the verb, and leaves the object *to be supplied*. The "vicarious" *facere* is, of course, found in Latin. See Holden, *De Off.* 1. 1. 4. So Greek uses *ποιεῖν* (Plato, *Rep.* 359 B) and *δρᾶν* (Thuc. 2. 49. 5).

§ 18. Why are slaves not bought to serve in our armies?

Why do we not, as individuals, provide rowers, ...?

exactly as

we provided them before

CHAPTER VII

§ 1. All other classes, all other persons

= omnes alii ordines, omnes homines.

Note no connective.

Normal Latin would be *ceteri omnes*, but Livy uses *alii* for *ceteri* frequently.

are to feel the improvement in the condition of the state

= mutationem in meliorem statum rei publicae sentient.

Lit. "the change of the state to a better position." The word "better" is prepositive and has stress; it is a change (as Greek would say) ἐς τὸ βέλτιον καὶ οὐ τὸ χεῖρον.

The prepositional phrase *in meliorem statum* may qualify *mutationem* because *mutationem* is accompanied by an attribute *rei publicae*. See 34. 1. 5 on *aditus in forum* (p. 40).

and shall only our wives reap no benefit...?

= ad coniuges tantum nostras... fructus non perveniet?

Observe the stress on *ad coniuges* coming first. The "and" of English is turned by asyndeton. Greek would have μὲν with "all other classes," and δὲ with *ad coniuges*. These two words occupy the place of the subject, thrusting the grammatical subject *fructus* quite late in the sentence.

Cicero would use *solum* for *tantum*. With him *tantum* still means "so much" or "only so much."

benefit from its peace and tranquillity?

=pacis et tranquillitatis publicae fructus...?

Note how "benefit from" > "benefit of," and see note at 34. 1. 5 "in the city"=*urbis* (p. 39).

The genitives are prepositive and form, as it were, a second subject, as if Livy were writing: "to our wives shall *peace and tranquillity* bring no benefit?"

its

=publicae, despite *rei publicae* above. Latin repeats; English varies. See also note on *legis* in § 16 of the last chapter (p. 167). =*purpura viri utemur*.

§ 2. Purple will be worn by us men

Again there is no connective. The Latin order makes *purpura* the logical subject, and *purpura* tickets, so to speak, the whole paragraph; "purple" is to be the topic.

in the official dress of magistrates and priests

=*praetextati* in magistratibus, in sacerdotiis.

Lit. "wearing the *toga praetexta* (as) in the case of magistracies and priesthoods."

Observe the bi-membral asyndeton, especially common when examples are cited in illustration. See M. § 434, where Cic. *De Off.* 1. 16. 50 is quoted (in quibus (feris) inesse fortitudinem saepe dicimus, ut in equis, in leonibus). The *ut* of this passage suggests that *ut* may have fallen out between *praetextati* and *in*.

For the form *praetextatus* cp. *tōgatus*, *tūnīcatus*, *sāgatus*, *sō-*

- our children leatus, cālīgatus, and English
 "booted," "sandalled," "slippered."
 = *liberi nostri*.
 For *liberi*)(*pueri* see on 34.
 4. 18 (p. 108).
 = *utentur*, despite *utemur* above)(
 the variety of vowel sound in
 English "will be worn"... "will
 wear."
 = *praetextis purpura togis*.
 For the order see on 34. 4. 12
 aequato omnium cultu. Latin has
 the plural *togis* attracted to the
 number of the subject. Apart
 from the evil sound and obscurity
 of *praetextā purpurā togā*, the
 singular *togā* might mean one
 toga in which to wrap up the
 whole family.
 The *prae* of *praetexo* = "at the
 edge," just as *praefringo* = I break
 off *the end of* something. So
 Verg. *Aen.* vi. 4 *litora curvae*—
 praetexunt puppes = fringe the
 shore.
 = *magistratibus in coloniis muni-*
 cipiisque...ius permittemus.
 In Latin, of course, "in colo-
 nies" does not properly qualify
 magistratibus but goes with the
 verb *permittemus*.
 For *coloniae* and *municipia* see
 Ramsay's *Antiquities*, pp. 88-92
 (Ramsay and Lanciani, pp. 118-
 122).
 = *hic Romae infimo generi, magis-*
 tris vicorum... (ius permittemus).
- will wear
- the toga bordered with purple
- magistrates in colonies and pro-
 vincial towns...will receive from
 us the right
- and here, in Rome, the lowest
 official class, the superintendents
 of streets

and here

= hic.

Note the asyndeton, as if *hic δὲ* were preceded by *magistratibus μὲν*.
= generi.

official class

The word "official" needs no representation; it is already expressed in the preceding *magistratibus*.

the right to use this same dress

= togae praetextae habendae ius.

We say "right to use"; Latin can only say "right of using." See 34. 1. 5 "in the city" = *urbis*.

The phrase *toga praetexta* is repeated, despite *praetextis...togis* above)(variety of English.

§ 3. and not merely in life
may they have this uniform

= nec (sc. permittemus) ut vivi solum habeant [tantum] insigne.

W. is astonished at the position of *solum* and Madvig brackets it. But there is no reason for surprise; Livy wishes to emphasise *vivi* in contrast with *mortui*, which is put last, after its verb *crementur*, to reinforce the antithesis.

There are plenty of instances of one word, the word of interest, placed between *non* and *solum* (cp. 5. 42. 3 *non mentibus solum... sed*, etc.), and here the *ut* cannot well be placed elsewhere.

have

= habeant, in spite of *habendae* at end of previous section)(variety of English.

this uniform :

= [tantum] insigne.

H. J. Müller brackets *tantum*. Perhaps *tantum* should be read in place of *solum*, which may have

been a gloss on *tantum* to show that *tantum* does not go with *insigne*; or, possibly, *tantum* was a gloss on *dumtaxat* below, and has been displaced.

Even if *tantum* could stand for *tam splendidum*, Valerius would be stultifying his argument; for he is trying to show that the *insigne* is commonplace and allowed to the most insignificant officials.

when dead they may be cremated
with it

=sed etiam ut cum eo crementur
mortui.

Note *mortui* last)(*vivi* at the beginning of the clause.

The colon after "uniform" is translated by *sed*, and the stress on "dead" is represented partly by *etiam*, partly by the position of *mortui*.

Shall we then deny the use of
purple to none but women?

=feminis dumtaxat purpurae usu
interdicemus?

Livy uses *dumtaxat* = "only." Compare 37. 53. 9 nec animum dumtaxat (=nec animum modo) vobis fidelem.....praestitit, sed omnibus interfuit bellis. The word originally meant "while it touches," "as far as it is concerned." Thus in Cic. *De Or.* 1. 58. 249 *ad hoc dumtaxat* = "for this at any rate." See Wilkins *ad loc.*

The case of *feminis* is dative and of *usu* ablative, cp. 5. 3. 8 interdicitis patribus (dat.) commercio (abl.) plebis = "you forbid patricians to have intercourse with

the plebs." Lewis and Short wrongly quote *interdicere* with the accusative of the person at Caes. *B. G.* 6. 13. 6. There the dative has to be supplied; no actual object is expressed.

For the position of *feminis* cp. 34. 7. 1 *ad coniuges tantum*.

The genitive *purpuræ* is prepositive, because it, not *usu*, carries the point.

You, the husband, may have...
and will you not allow...?

=et cum tibi viro liceat...non
sines?

Note the connective *et*. For the Latin form of expression, see note on 34. 6. 8 "and therefore must we fear...?" and on 34. 6. 9 "and why pray is there danger...?" (p. 153).

(may) have purple for your hang-
ings

=(liceat) *purpura in vestem stragulam uti*.

For *vestis stragula* see Becker, *Gallus*, p. 287. The phrase includes all ornamental coverings.

For *in vestem...uti* cp. 37. 15. 7 *in duas...res id usui fore*; 4. 6. 2 *utiliter in praesens certamen*; 5. 18. 3 *rei maxime in hoc tempus utili*.

the mistress of your household

=*matrem familiae tuam*.

The phrase is *mater familiae*—practically a compound noun; hence *tuam* not *tuae*. Contrast the English.

The old genitive *familias* (cp. *φιλίας*), which is common with *pater* in other authors, is not used by Livy at all (W. on 1. 45. 4).

to wear that colour in her mantle

=*purpureum āmiculum habere*.

The English means "to have a mantle of purple," and this is what we find in the Latin. But the repetition "of purple" is wearisome in English. Latin, however, allows itself no greater variety than an adjective *purpureum*, instead of a genitive *purpurae*. The adjective is prepositive like the genitive *purpurae* above, and for the same reason.

to wear

=*habere*, in spite of *habeant* ("may have") above, and *habendae* ("use") in § 2)(the variety of English.

Are the caparisons of your horse to be more brilliant than the dresses of your wife?

=*et equus tuus speciosius instratus erit quam uxor vestita?*

Note the connective *et*.

The nouns "caparisons" and "dresses" > verbs. The antithesis is expressed by parallel order. Livy might have used chiasmus by writing *vestita uxor*.

For *instratus* cp. 21. 54. 5 *instratisque equis signum expectare*.

Add both instances to Lewis and Short, and others quoted by W. at 21. 27. 9.

§ 4. which wears out and is wasted

=*quae teritur absumitur*.

For the bi-membral asyndeton see 34. 3. 4 and M. § 434.

I can see some reason, however unjust, for parsimony.

=*iniustam quidem, sed aliquam tamen causam tenacitatis video*.

For the form of expression and the different idiom of English cp. 2. 24. 4. "But their delibera-

tions concerning a part of the state, however great that part might be, had been interrupted by fears for the country as a whole" = *ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte civitatis metum pro re publica intervenisse.*

With *sed tamen* the word of antithetical interest (as *aliquam* here) often comes between the *sed* and the *tamen*.

Livy is the first to use *quidem* freely, attached directly to *all parts of speech*, as an exact equivalent of μέν, and followed by *sed, autem, vero*, etc. = δέ. Here *quidem* is attached to an adjective. For other parts of speech cp. 1. 50. 3 (with adverb); 34. 11. 3 (with verb); 35. 34. 2, 36. 23. 1 (with noun); 33. 39. 7 (with pronoun).

For Cicero's limitation in the use of *quidem* see M. § 489 b. = *causam tenacitatis.*

reason for parsimony

For the genitive see 34. 1. 5 on "in the city" = *urbis* (p. 39).

The word *tenacitas* is rare and of this metaphorical sense (= *parsimonia*) no other example is quoted. The adjective *tenax* (= "frugal," "parsimonious") is not uncommon; cp. Cic. *Cael.* 15. 36 *patre parco ac tenaci.*

The important word is "reason" and therefore *tenacitatis* is left postpositive, although the

I can see

But in the matter of gold,

where

if we except the cost of workman-
ship
there is no loss in value

why should we be grudging?

Rather it is a safe investment

normal order would be *aliquam tamen tenacitatis causam*. See on 34. 4. 12 *aequato omnium cultu*.
= video.

The "can" of English is idiomatic but quite unnecessary.
= in auro vero.

Note *vero* (=but) after *sed* preceding; so *μέντοι* is used after a preceding *δέ*.
= in quo.

Note the repetition of *in* + ablative = "in the case of," viz. *in purpura...in auro...in quo* and contrast the variety of English "in the case of"... "in the matter of"... "where."

= praeter manupretium.

= nihil intertrimenti fit.

At 32. 2. 2 we have *intertrimentum argenti* = "loss through melting off." Compare *detrimentum*. Both words are from $\sqrt{\text{terere}}$ (*τριβεῖν*).

= quae malignitas est?

Apparently this = quae ratio malignitatis est?

Perhaps we ought to read: *quae malignitatis est?* and supply *causa* with *quae* out of *causam* above.

= praesidium potius in eo est.

Observe the adversative asyndeton = "Nay, a security, not a loss, is entailed." Hence *praesidium* precedes *potius* and has stress.

for private and public needs

as, in fact, you have found out by experience

§ 5. It was urged that no rivalry exists

rivalry...between individual women

now that none of them possesses gold

The Greek for *in eo est* is ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει, cp. τὰ ὑπάρχοντα = "investments," "capital."
=et ad privatos et ad publicos usus.

Note the anticipatory *et* before *ad privatos*, and observe that both adjectives are prepositive because antithetical.

=sicut experti estis=ὥσπερ καὶ πεπειραμένοι ἴστε.

For *sicut* cp. 34. 6. 18, and for the facts see 34. 5. 9.

=nullam aemulationem.....esse aiebat.

The verb of saying, coming late, gains stress=he *said* so, but it is not true.

The absence of a subject to *aiebat* is remarkable, but compare *inquit* at 34. 3. 9. Has *is* dropped out after *estis* at the end of § 4?

=aemulationem inter se singularum.

The preposition "between" is translated by the genitive. See 34. 1. 5 on "in the city"=*urbis*.

The use of *se* in *inter se* is justified by the fact that *singularum* is a subjective genitive, as if Livy had written: *non aemulari inter se singulas*.

=quoniam nulla haberet.

Here *quoniam* retains much of its original sense *quom iam*, where *quom* (*cum*) approaches the causal meaning, cp. *cum* in the next sentence.

For *nulla* as a feminine of *nemo* cp. 34. 4. 6 (p. 91).

With *haberet* the object *aurum* is easily supplied in Latin. The *recta* is, of course, *quoniam nulla habet*. The mood of *haberet* is due to Orat. Obl., and the tense to the time of *aiebat*.

=at hercule.

For *hercule* see 34. 5. 13 on *medius fidius*.

=universis dolor et indignatio est.

The word *universis* (contrast *singularum*) is logical subject and therefore comes first.

For the hendiadys cp. 34. 6. 15 "luxurious adornment" = in luxuria et ornatu (p. 163).

Remember that *universus* provides a singular to *cuncti* (*cunctus* is rare), and in the plural, as here, = "all taken together" (*ἀπάσαις* contrasted with *καθ' ἑκάστην*).

=cum...vident.

For *cum* = "because," "in that," see 34. 4. 13 *ad fin.*, and W. on 8. 33. 10.

=sociorum Latini nominis uxoribus vident ea concessa ornamenta.

The genitives *sociorum Latini nominis* are prepositive because the implied antithesis is that *Roman* wives cannot do these things (whatever Latin allies may do).

But, surely,

our women as a class feel the bitterest indignation

when they see

they see the wives of Latin allies permitted such ornaments

Note the double genitive. The construction is inoffensive because *socius Latini nominis* is practically one word.

In such phrases *nomen* = *gens* = "tribe," "nation."

The *socii Latini nominis* were those who joined in the original confederation with Rome.

The words *sociorum Latini nominis uxoribus* come early in antithesis to *sibi* below. The verb *vident* here = ἐφ' ὧσιν = "live to see," "see with their own eyes," cp. *Pref.* § 5, 1. 46. 8, 6. 34. 10, 21. 53. 5, etc.

permitted such ornaments

= ea concessa ornamenta.

Note the anticipatory *ea* = *talía* preparing us for the relative clause. Observe *concessa* prepositive)(*adempta*. Greek would write δεδομένα καὶ οὐκ ἀπεστέρημένα.

as are denied to themselves

= quae sibi adempta sint.

Lit. "which have been taken from them." The *sibi* is normal, standing in a subordinate clause of Or. Obl., and referring to the principal subject. The dative is that of disadvantage.

§ 6. when they see them conspicuous in gold and purple

= cum insignis eas esse auro et purpura.

The verb (*vident*) is readily supplied in Latin.

Observe the stress on *insignis* (= *insignes*) preceding *eas*.

The ablatives *auro et purpura* are causal.

and driving through the city,
while they themselves follow on
foot

=cum illas vehi per urbem, se
pedibus sequi.

Note the rhetorical anaphora
cum (*vident*), and contrast the
“and” of English.

The verb *vehi* is brought for-
ward in antithesis to *pedibus*
sequi. There is a certain stress,
too, on *per urbem*, i.e. wives of
allies drive through the Roman
capital in which Roman wives
must walk.

Note *illas*, referring to the
same persons as *eas* above. The
pronoun *ille* is frequent in con-
trasts (cp. *hic...ille*=“the latter”
...“the former”) and this may
account for the change of pro-
noun.

In poetry we find *hic* and *ille*
referring to the same person, cp.
Verg. *Geor.* iv. 396–8, Martial
3. 5. 5. In Greek *οὗτος* and *ὁδὲ*
are used of the same person, cp.
Eur. *Med.* 1046, Soph. *Ant.* 296,
750–1, and *passim* in tragedy.
Thucydides has different pronouns
for the same person at 4. 73. 4 and
6. 61. 7.

=se.

Note the adversative asyndeton
=*αὐταὶ δὲ* after *ἐκείνας μὲν* (*illas*).
=*pedibus*.

An instrumental ablative.
=*tamquam in illarum civitatibus*,
non in sua imperium sit.

Latin loves parallelism; it has
expressed the antithesis in the

while they themselves

on foot

as if the administration were
centred not in their own com-
munity, but in the communities
from which those others come

order *illas...se*, and therefore continues in that order, i.e. "as if in the communities of those women and not in their own (community) the imperium was."

For "and not" = *non* see M. § 458, Obs. 1 *ad fin.* So in the Greek orators οὐ, οὐχὶ and μή = "and not," "but not."
= *tamquam...sit.*

The subjunctive is that of non-fact (compare with *non quod*).

The tense in such clauses of comparison is determined by the tense of the principal verb. Here *vident* is present; therefore *sit* is present also.

The phrase "were centred in" is mere ornament for "were in"; hence *in sua...sit.*

Observe how late the *grammatical* subject (*imperium*) comes. Livy's order sounds as if *in illarum civitatibus* were subject, i.e. "as if the communities of those women, and not their own community, contained the seat of government."

The words "from which those others come" mean nothing more than "of those others." Therefore write *illarum*. The genitive is prepositive to prepare us for the antithesis *sua*, with which *civitate* is readily supplied.

= *virorum hoc animos vulnerare posset.*

Note no connective.

as if...were

§ 7. Such a contrast could wound the feelings of men

such a contrast

could wound

how much more of weak women...?

The antithesis is men)(women ; therefore *virorum* is prepositive, separated from its noun, and placed first in the sentence.

=hoc.

The neuter pronoun expresses the specific noun of English.

The non-personal subject (*hoc*) with a *non-personal object* of a transitive verb is frequent enough. Livy so uses *hoc*, *haec* twenty-three times, and in eight of the instances the object is *animus*, -os. A *personal object* is found in five cases, and in four of them the verb is *movere*. See Appendix A.

=vulnerare posset.

Lit. "could have been wounding." The same meaning can be given by the indicative of the auxiliary, e.g. *vulnerare poterat*)(*vulnerare potuit* = "could have wounded."

=quid muliercularum censetis...?

The full expression would be : "quid muliercularum animos censetis hoc vulnerare posse?" = "what a wound (*quid* is internal accusative with *vulnerare*) do you think that this could make in the minds of weak women?"

Note the contemptuous use of the diminutive. Diminutives have two uses, (1) affectionate, (2) contemptuous (as here). Thus *servulus* may = (1) a favourite slave, (2) a miserable, despicable slave.

who are affected by the merest trifles

the merest trifles

§ 8.

§ 9.

=quas etiam parva movent.

Livy has a similar ungallant remark at 6. 34. 7, *ceterum* is *risus stimulos parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri subdidit* = "the laugh acted like a goad on a woman's mind affected by the merest trifles."

=etiam parva.

The neuter of Latin translates the specific noun of English.

Note *parva* subject to a transitive verb with a personal object. Livy uses *movere* with a non-personal subject and a personal object without any hesitation.

Note (1) no connective; (2) how the negative comes early in Latin)(English; (3) the series—*non... nec... nec... nec... nec* = οὐ...οὐδὲ... οὐδὲ...οὐδὲ...οὐδὲ; (4) *nec dona aut spolia*, where *aut*, like *ve*, connects two closely bound members of negative groups; cp. note on 34. 1. 3, *neu iuncto vehiculo in urbe oppidove...*; (5) *contingere*, as so often, used of pleasant things)(*accidere* of what is unpleasant; (6) the hexameter ending—*contingere possunt*. Livy is not seldom guilty of this.

Note the adversative *asyn-deton*.

It seems impossible to draw a clear distinction between the first three words. A ribbon in the hair would come under *munditiae*; necklets, brooches, brace-

lets under *ornatus* ; and *cultus* is, perhaps, dress in general.

Note how Latin inserts all the connectives (here *et...et*), or omits all, or puts *que* with the last member.

Observe *haec*—the neuter referring to a series of things which vary in gender. See M. § 214 b.

The genitive *feminarum* is prepositive)(*virorum*.

= his gaudent et glorianitur.

The nouns, as so often, become verbs in Latin. The ablative *his* is causal.

= hunc mundum muliebrem appellarunt maiores nostri.

Note the attraction of “these” to the number and gender of *mundum*. Compare Vergil’s *hoc opus, hic labor est*.

Here, as in 32. 40. 11 non aurum modo iis, sed postremo vestem quoque mundumque omnem muliebrem ademit, the phrase *mundus muliebris* is general in meaning. The jurists restricted it to mirrors, unguents, vases, manicuring apparatus.

Note *haec...his...hunc*—anaphora with change of case, called *πολύπτωτον*. See Cic. *Pro Cluentio*, 14. 41, and Fausset’s note *ad loc.*

The words *maiores nostri* come last, with a certain stress which playfully hoists old-fashioned Cato with his own petard.

these are their delight and pride

these are what our forefathers called “the adornment of woman”

§ 10. In mourning, what do they do but lay aside their gold as well as their purple?

=quid aliud in luctu quam purpuram atque aurum deponunt?

Note no connective.

With *quid aliud* supply, as so often, *faciunt*. See on 34. 2. 12.

Observe *in* with *luctu* (=cum ludent) expressing attendant circumstances.

Here *atque* is in its original sense, viz. *ad+que*="and in addition," "and what is more." Hence the order of the English is inverted in the Latin.

When mourning is over, what do they do but resume them?

=quid, cum eluxerunt, sumunt?

In full this would be *quid aliud faciunt, cum eluxerunt, quam sumunt (purpuram atque aurum)*?

The mood of *eluxerunt* is frequentative indicative. The tense is complete present; present because *faciunt* and *sumunt* are present, and complete present because antecedent in time to the time of *faciunt* and *sumunt*.

The *e* of *eluxerunt* expresses completion, cp. the *ex* of *exaedificare*.

If they give thanks or offer supplications, what...?

=quid in gratulationibus supplicationibusque...?

The *in* expresses attendant circumstances (cp. *in luctu* above) or = "in the case of."

Note the rhetorical anaphora and asyndeton *quid aliud...quid...quid...?*

do they add save greater splendour in apparel?

= nisi excellentiorem ornatum adiciunt?

§ 11. Of course

if you repeal the Oppian law

you will be powerless

should you desire to enforce any prohibition now contained in that law !

The adjective *excellentiorem* is prepositive because splendour, not apparel, is the point.
=scilicet.

The whole paragraph is bitterly ironical.

=si legem Oppiam abrogaveritis.

The verb is complete future ; future because *erit* is future, complete future because antecedent in time to *erit*. The same account must be given of the tense of *volueritis* below, with this difference that *volueritis* is frequentative, i.e. *si* = "if ever."

=non vestri arbitrii erit.

For the genitive see Roby, § 1282. The prepositive *vestri* has some stress and *non* qualifies it="it will not be in *your* hands." Contrast the normal order *arbitrii vestri non erit*.

=si quid eius vetare volueritis, quod nunc lex vetat.

Lit. "if you desire to forbid anything of that which now the law forbids."

The noun "prohibition" is expressed by a verb. There is stress on "now" as contrasted with the future ; *nunc*, therefore, is put early= $\nu\nu\nu\iota$ δῆ.

Note the repetition *vetare... vetat*)(English.

For *lex* as subject to a transitive verb, see 34. 4. 13 on *utrumque lex vobis demit*.

Of course, our daughters, wives, and even sisters will be less under control in certain households !

§ 12. But never

while their male relatives are living

is the yoke of slavery taken from women

=minus filiae, uxores, sorores etiam quibusdam in manu erunt.

Note the asyndeton and the stress on *minus* coming first and separated far from *in manu erunt*. It illustrates Latin love of putting the negative idea early.

The irony of *scilicet* still continues. The word "our" needs no representation. The pronoun *quibusdam* is dative of the possessor and masculine gender.

=numquam.

Note the adversative asyndeton.

=salvis suis.

If "men-folk" had reached the dignity of literary English, it would be the most convenient version of *suis*.

The ablative *salvis suis* is one of attendant circumstances.

For *salvus*=*incolumis*=*superstes* see Lewis and Short, s.v. *salvus* II. A.

The use of *suis* is due to the sense, as if Livy had written *liberae sunt mulieres*, instead of *exuitur servitus muliebris*.

=exuitur servitus muliebris.

The metaphor is from a yoke, cp. 35. 17. 8 *iugum exuere*, and 34. 13. 9 *se iugo exuere*. Thus *exuere* has the double meaning (1) "to get rid of," ἀπαλλάττειν τὸ ζυγόν ; (2) "to rid oneself of," ἀπαλλάττειν ἐαυτὸν τοῦ ζυγοῦ.

For the *tutela* of women see

and they themselves abhor the liberty which is brought by the loss of husband or father

Ramsay's *Antiquities*, p. 255 (Ramsay and Lanciani, p. 299).

= et ipsae libertatem, quam viduitas et orbitas facit, detestantur.

Here *ipsae* may suggest "when they are their own mistresses," cp. *ipse* = *dominus*.

The verb *facit* is singular number because *et* = "and as the case may be" = "or." Compare *que* = "or," and see note on 34. 1. 4, ad suadendum dissuadendumque.

For the phrase cp. 26. 41. 9 *orbitas...frangit animum*. Livy has, however, no other examples of *orbitas* or *viduitas* as subjects to transitive verbs; but *facere*, like *movere*, is extremely common with abstract and non-personal subjects. See Appendix A.

= in vestro arbitrio suum ornatum quam in legis malunt esse.

Note (1) the absence of connective; (2) the prepositive *vestro*, preparing us for the antithesis *legis* (sc. *arbitrio*), and producing by somewhat artificial parallelism the prepositive *suum*: *you* are to control *their* adornment.

The position of *vestro* makes it = *vos* as subject. Compare *Pref.* § 5 (*malorum*) *quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas*, where *nostra* = *nos ipsi*. See my note *ad loc.* in *Latin and English Idiom* (Camb. Univ. Press, 1909).

§ 13. They desire that you, rather than the law, should regulate their adornment

and you, on your part

=et vos.

should have them under protection and guardianship, not hold them in bondage

Note that *vos* is emphatic because inserted = ὑμεῖς δέ)(αὐταὶ μὲν *ipsae* in § 12.

=in manu et tutela, non in servitio debetis habere eas.

For *non*="and not," "but not," see 34. 7. 6 (p. 183).

Note the position of *eas*. Livy is fond of putting a single word after the verb, especially an iambus.

preferring the title of father or husband to that of master.

Observe "have them under... hold them in...": English varies both verb and preposition; Latin has one verb and repeats the preposition.

=et malle patres vos aut viros quam dominos dici.

Lit. "and (you ought) to prefer...": Latin goes on with a parallel construction; English varies with a participle "preferring."

The noun "title">the verb *dici*. Observe the stress on *patres* preceding *vos* the subject of *dici*; and note the repetition *malunt...malle*)(English variety "they desire...rather,"..."preferring..."

§ 14.

In the first sentence note (1) no connective; (2) stress on *invidiosis* prepositive="producing hatred"; (3) the position of *consul*: our attention is drawn to his official standing, and we feel that more careful language might be expected

when he talked of sedition and secession on the part of the women

The danger is that they may seize

that they may seize the Sacred Hill—an angry plebs once did it—or perhaps the Aventine!

from a responsible magistrate ; (4) the order of *modo*, which is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, like *consul*, with *utabatur* and *appellando* ; (5) *appellando*—the Livian “modal gerund” = *appellans* = Greek instrumental participle.

=seditionem muliebrem et secessionem appellando.

Note the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ position of *muliebrem* between the two nouns.

=id enim periculum est, ne... capiant.

Note the connective and the anticipatory *id*.

The whole of this sentence is ironical. Latin usually *shows* irony by the insertion of *scilicet*, *sane*, etc. A few adjectives (e.g. *praeclarus*) are common in an ironical sense.

=ne Sacrum montem, sicut quondam irata plebs (sc. cepit), aut Aventinum capiant.

W. on 2. 32. 2 says that *Sacer mons* is the usual order. The Secession of the plebs is dated B.C. 494. The historian Calpurnius Piso (consul B.C. 133) asserted that the Secession was made to the Aventine.

The participle *irata* is prepositive because causal ; it is more than a mere epithet. Greek would have ὀργιζόμενος ὁ δῆμος.

Note *aut* = “or perhaps.” For this use of *aut* cp. *tres aut*

§ 15.

no matter what you decide

Yet the greater your power, the more moderate should be your exercise of it.

summum quattuor, and see M. § 436.

Note the adversative asyndeton. The word *patiendum* comes early for stress. So far from acting with spirit and independence, these poor women must *submit*. Compare the position of *remissa* at 34. 8. 2.

=quodcumque vos censueritis.

Lit. "there must be endured whatever *you* (emphatic because *vos* is inserted) shall have decided."

The verb *censueritis* is future because *patiendum est* = *patientur mulieres*, and complete future because antecedent to the time of *patientur*.

It is worth while to remember that *faciet* may be represented by *facturus est*, *facturus erit*, and *fiet* by *faciendum est*, *faciendum erit*. See Roby, § 1520.

The verb *censere* is properly used of the Senate, and *iubere* of the *populus*. The latter is now being addressed, and we should expect *iubere*.

=quo plus potestis, eo moderatius imperio uti debetis.

Note no connective again. Lit. "by what (measure) you are more powerful, by that (measure) you ought to use authority more moderately."

The ablatives *quo...eo* are ablatives of measure of difference.

The *plus* of *plus potestis* is practically an adverb, although in origin an internal accusative, closely allied to the accusative of "extent over which."

Observe that the noun "exercise" > the verb (*uti* despite *utebatur* in § 14); contrast the English variety "(for a consul) to use"... "exercise (of it)."

CHAPTER VIII

§ 1. Such were the speeches made.... Crowds of women... poured...

= Haec cum...dicta essent,...frequentia mulierum...sese effudit.

Latin subordinates the first sentence. Perhaps *haec* is brought forward to express: "although *all this* had been said," i.e. although the case had been put so fully, the women did not desist from their agitation.

At the same time, Livy, not infrequently, puts the subject of the subordinate clause before the conjunction (here *cum*) even when it is not subject to the principal verb as well.

The noun "speeches" > verb *dicta essent*.

in favour of or against the law

= contra legem proque lege.

The noun is usually repeated in such cases, cp. 8. 11. 7, 29. 19. 10. But at 10. 7. 2 we have *pro lege contraque eam*. In two in-

stances the second preposition stands alone, viz. 5. 35. 4 *cis Padum ultraque*, and 9. 32. 9 *ante signa circaque*; but it is noticeable that both *ultra* and *circa* are more adverbs than prepositions.

For “or” = *que* see on 34. 1. 4 *ad suadendum dissuadendumque*. = *aliquanto maior frequentia mulierum postero die sese in publicum effudit*.

The first two words are predicative, “being by a considerable amount greater” = *πολλῷ μείζων οὔσα ἡ σύνοδος τῶν γυναικῶν*. = *sese...effudit*.

English has many of these quasi-intransitive verbs with the reflexive object omitted, e.g. pour, move, burn, drive, turn, etc. Latin and Greek have very few. Compare, however, *terra movet*, *ἐλαύνει* (he drives, rides), *ὀρμᾷ* (he advances).

The *sese* is thrown in neatly between the two adverbs.

For *in publicum* cp. 34. 5. 7, and note on 34. 2. 10 *in publico*.

The word *frequentia* occurs only twice elsewhere in Livy as subject to a transitive verb, viz. 2. 1. 10 and 7. 30. 21. In the first passage the object is non-personal, in the second no object is expressed. See Appendix A. = *unogue agmine omnes*.

Note the connective *que*, and

Crowds of women, in larger numbers than ever, poured next day into the streets

poured

§ 2. A mass meeting

the artificial sound of *uno...omnes*. This antithesis is dear to the ancients. Thus "He did it all by himself" = *unus omnia egit*, εἰς πάντα ἐποίησεν. Compare 34. 9. 3. "To-day all are fused together into one body politic" = *nunc in corpus unum confusi omnes*, where the abnormally postpositive *unum*, and the *omnes* placed after the verb, serve to heighten the antithesis.

besieged the doors of the Bruti

= *Brutorum ianuas obsederunt*.

The prepositive genitive is the important word. The Bruti (Marcus and Publius Junius) were opposed to their colleagues. See 34. 1. 4.

Note that *ianua* = gate of a house = ἡ θύρα)(*porta* = gate of a city = αἱ πύλαι.

who were attempting to block their colleagues' proposal

= *qui collegarum rogationi intercedebant*.

The imperfect *intercedebant* is conative. The genitive *collegarum* is prepositive because the Bruti were opposing their colleagues, cp. the prepositive *Brutorum* above.

The position of this relative clause is awkward. It should stand between *Brutorum* and *ianuas*. There is a reading *tribunorum* (for *Brutorum*), and, perhaps, the anticipatory *eorum* has dropped out before it. Then *Brutorum* would be an explanatory gloss (on *tribunorum*) which has crept into the text.

The women persisted in these methods

=nec ante abstiterunt.

Note the connective *nec=et non*, and the anticipatory order of *ante* preparing us for *quam*.

Latin continues the original construction (parallelism); English varies with a new subject (women).

until opposition was abandoned by the tribunes

=(ante)...quam remissa intercessio ab tribunis est.

Note the stress on *remissa* coming first and separated from *est*. Compare 34. 5. 9 *obruta... redempta*.

When the principal sentence is negative, Livy rarely writes anything but the indicative (usually aorist perfect) after the *quam*. See W.'s note on 23. 30. 4.

§ 3. There was then no doubt

=nulla deinde dubitatio fuit.

The *nulla* has stress by separation, cp. οὐδὲ εἰς for the less emphatic οὐδεῖς. The adverb *deinde* not seldom comes second.

that the Lex Oppia would be repealed by all the tribes

=quin omnes tribus legem abrogarent.

The construction is as if with *nullus fuit metus ne non....*

Thus "I do not doubt that he *will come*" may be expressed by *non dubito quin ille veniat*, as if *non timeo ne non ille veniat*.

But Cicero, *Fam.* 2. 17. 5, has the periphrastic future: *nunc mihi non est dubium quin venturae non sint (legiones)*, where the method of expression is perhaps due to the preceding

words, *antea dubitabam venturae ne essent legiones*.

A good instance of the present subjunctive (=periphrastic future) after a verb of doubt is *Caes. B. G. 1. 31. 15 (dixit se) non dubitare quin...supplicium sumat (=sumpturus sit) Ariovistus*.

and repealed it was twenty years after it first became law

=*viginti annis post abrogata est quam lata*.

Note no connective.

For the facts and construction see 34. 6. 9 on *viginti ante annis latam* (p. 152).

Note the anticipatory position of *post* preparing us for *quam*.

APPENDIX A

On 34. 2. 8. quod nisi me verecundia...tenuisset.

Latin, we are told, is a language of concrete expressions, and it is startling to come across such phrases as *haec spes Etruscos armaverant* (2. 44. 12), *plebem ira prope armavit* (2. 35. 1), *cum timor par adversus communem hostem duas...urbes armaret* (9. 19. 13). When we learn that Livy has some 1690 examples no less bold, i.e. more than 48 in each of the extant books, we may well begin to wonder if the old canon needs revision or modification.

The following pages are the result of a painful investigation. Space will not permit detailed references, and the reader is asked to take the figures on trust.

There are in Livy some 4375 instances (to which 814 nouns contribute) of non-personal or abstract subjects to transitive verbs. In 406 cases the verb is either intransitively used or the object is so vague as to make the verb practically intransitive.

The remaining 3969 may be divided thus: (a) words containing abstract ideas or denoting inanimate entities; (β) words of a collective nature* or words which imply living persons, such as *exercitus*, *navis*, *multitudo*, *civitas*, etc. Of class (a) there are 3109 examples (i.e. more than 88 in each of the extant books); of class (β) there are 860.

Of class (a) more than half the examples, viz. 1690, are purely abstract in sense; and of them 756 have a *person* as object, and 934 a *thing*. Of the 756 examples where the object is a *person*, 435 have the *subject* before the object and verb, while 321 have the *object* before the subject and verb; that is, 435 are of the type *necessitas me cogit*, and 321 of the type *me necessitas cogit*.

Of the 934 examples where the object is a *thing*, 714 have the *subject* before the object and verb, while 220 only have the *object* before the

* I do not include *senatus* and *plebes*.

subject and verb; that is, 714 are of the type *cura animum incessit*, and 220 of the type *animum cura incessit*.

* In my statistics I shall call the type *necessitas me cogit* A¹, and *me necessitas cogit* A²; while I shall call the type *cura animum incessit* B¹, and *animum cura incessit* B².

Thus A¹ is to A² as 1·36 to 1 (A¹=435, A²=321), whereas B¹ is to B² as 3·25 to 1 (B¹=714, B²=220); and we deduce the important fact that, when the subject is purely abstract, if the object be *personal*, Livy puts it before the subject *thrice* out of *seven* examples, but if the object be *non-personal*, he puts it before the subject *thrice* only in *thirteen* examples. That is to say, the type *me necessitas cogit* occurs three times to four of *necessitas me cogit*, whereas the type *animum cura incessit* occurs three times to ten of *cura animum incessit*.

In striking contrast stand the figures of class (β), i.e. words of a collective nature and words which imply living persons. These figures are A¹=200, A²=65, B¹=530, B²=65; and we note that as the subject more nearly approaches genuine personality, Livy takes less trouble to bring the personal object before the subject; for the relation of A¹ to A² is now 3·08 to 1, whereas with purely abstract subjects it was 1·36 to 1. As for B¹ and B², the relation is 8·15 to 1, whereas with purely abstract subjects it was 3·25 to 1.

The following table gives a conspectus of results:—

Abstract Nouns

A ¹ =436, A ² =320	Total 756	} = 1690	A ¹ : A ² :: 1·36 : 1
B ¹ =714, B ² =220	Total 934		B ¹ : B ² :: 3·25 : 1

Abstract and Inanimate Entities

A ¹ = 668, A ² =461	Total 1129	} = 2758	A ¹ : A ² :: 1·44 : 1
B ¹ =1297, B ² =332	Total 1629		B ¹ : B ² :: 3·90 : 1

Abstract and Inan. Entities+res and neuters

A ¹ = 768, A ² =493	Total 1261	} = 3109	A ¹ : A ² :: 1·55 : 1
B ¹ =1488, B ² =360	Total 1848		B ¹ : B ² :: 4·13 : 1

Words implying living persons (e.g. civitas, etc.)

A ¹ =200, A ² =65	Total 265	} = 860	A ¹ : A ² :: 3·08 : 1
B ¹ =530, B ² =65	Total 595		B ¹ : B ² :: 8·15 : 1

I append a list of the most common abstract and non-personal nouns. The letter C denotes that the verb is used absolutely or with so vague an object as to make the verb practically absolute, or, again, to denote that a transitive verb is used intransitively.

* The few relative clauses I have classed under A¹ and B¹.

		A ¹ , A ² , B ¹ , B ² , C	Total			A ¹ , A ² , B ¹ , B ² , C	Total
i.	<i>Abstract</i>			iv.	<i>Bodily functions and parts</i>		
Fortuna	10, 22, 54, 27, 10	= 123		Clamor	11, 2, 23, 3, 3	= 42	
Fama	10, 8, 17, 5, 12	= 52		Animus	3, 3, 17, 3, 2	= 28	
Bellum	14, 7, 14, 6, 3	= 44		Vox	6, 1, 14, 1, 3	= 25	
Metus	17, 8, 12, 2, 5	= 44		Vires	6, 3, 6, 0, 1	= 16	
Terror	11, 10, 15, 3, 3	= 42		v.	<i>Legal and Parliamentary</i>		
Spes	13, 6, 13, 2, 5	= 39		Lex	8, 1, 15, 2, 3	= 29	
Ira	7, 9, 13, 4, 6	= 39		Sententia	8, 7, 2, 0, 12§	= 29	
Cura	8, 12, 7, 3, 7	= 37		Oratio	7, 4, 4, 3, 1	= 19	
Pavor	15, 8, 9, 4, 0	= 36		vi.	<i>Concrete</i>		
Vis	7, 4, 9, 6, 3	= 29		Litterae	7, 1, 12, 3, 3	= 26	
Adventus	6, 2, 13, 5, 1	= 27		Nomen	4, 1, 7, 2, 1	= 15	
Timor	11, 2, 10, 1, 3	= 27		vii.	<i>Res and neutrals</i>		
Virtus	4, 3, 10, 3, 5	= 25		Res	37, 15, 89, 24, 38	= 203	
Causa	9, 6, 7, 2, 0	= 24		Quod			
Mors	5, 3, 7, 4, 2	= 21		(= thing which)	20, 2, 21, 0, 3	= 46	
Pudor	5, 6, 7, 0, 3	= 21		Id	11, 0, 16, 0, 2	= 29	
Religio	4, 8, 1, 3, 4	= 20		Hoc	5, 0, 18, 0, 2	= 25	
Clades	5, 1, 8, 3, 2	= 19		Quod			
Casus	5, 2, 8, 1, 1	= 17		(= fact that)	5, 5, 5, 3, 6	= 24	
Fuga	7, 0, 8, 2, 0	= 17		viii.	<i>Collective and quasi-personal</i>		
Impetus	5, 5, 6, 0, 0	= 16		Exercitus	18, 3, 43, 8, 3	= 75	
Necessitas	3, 4, 6, 1, 2	= 16		Navis	5, 1, 57, 3, 7	= 73	
ii.	<i>Natural Phenomena</i>			Populus	18, 7, 35, 10, 1	= 71	
Tempus	4, 2, 15, 4, 14*	= 39		Multitudo	19, 8, 33, 2, 3	= 65	
Nox	6, 7, 24, 1, 0	= 38		Civitas	18, 2, 33, 5, 3	= 61	
Tempestas	6, 4, 13, 5, 1	= 29		Legio	9, 1, 30, 3, 0	= 43	
Annus	9, 6, 4, 3, 1	= 23		Gens	14, 1, 20, 1, 3	= 39	
Dies	5, 2, 11, 1, 0	= 19		Pars	5, 1, 27, 1, 5	= 39	
Ventus	2, 3, 8, 2, 4	= 19		Urbs	7, 5, 19, 3, 1	= 35	
Lux	2, 2, 10, 0, 2	= 16		Acies	11, 3, 12, 3, 4	= 33	
iii.	<i>Geographical</i>			Classis	5, 0, 25, 3, 0	= 33	
Amnis	2, 3, 21, 2, 4	= 32		Oppidum	2, 1, 11, 1, 0	= 15	
Locus	7, 3, 9, 1, 11†	= 31					
Via	1, 1, 0, 0, 16‡	= 18					

* Mostly *ut tempus patitur, ut tempus postulat*.

† Mostly *ut locus patitur, postulat*.

§ 11 of *sententia vincit*.

‡ Mostly *via fert*.

|| Mostly with *poscit, postulat*.

VERBS.

Livy has some 621 transitive verbs with non-personal and abstract subjects. I append a list of those that occur most frequently. It will be noticed that the first eight verbs, if we include compounds (*efficere*, *adferre*, *accipere*, *excipere*, *continere*, *inferre*, *prohibere*), account for not much less than one-third of the examples, viz. 1340 out of 4375.

	No. of times		No. of times		No. of times		No. of times
facere	323	sequi	53	tegere	30	turbare	23
habere	208	impedire	40	accipere	29	urgere	23
movere	127	augere	39	incessere	29	vertere	23
tenere	127	stimulare	39	pati	29	claudere	22
dare	98	efficere	36	trahere	28	opprimere	22
ferre	93	excitare	35	adiuvare	26	poscere	22
capere	89	terrere	35	occupare	25	postulare	21
præbere	89	adferre	34	absumere	24	inferre	20
cogere	67	fallere	33	excipere	24	prohibere	20
vincere	56	dirimere	32	invadere	24		
avertere	54	accendere	31	continere	23		

APPENDIX B

On 34. 3. 7. sed tamen, cum fuit, negastis hoc.

Weissenborn and Müller on Livy 1. 1. 1 have gathered many references illustrating the abnormal use of perfect for pluperfect and *vice versa*. I append a list of the examples that I have been able to discover, but do not repeat those contained in my note on 34. 3. 7.

(a) Perfect for pluperfect in subordinate clause.

1. 1. 1. constat duobus...quia pacis...auctores fuerunt (Madv. fuerant)...ius belli Achivos abstinuisse.
2. 30. 15. paucis datā veniā, qui inermes in deditionem venerunt (cp. Caes. B. C. 3. 18. 5 ab iis...cognovit, qui sermoni interfuerunt).
39. 31. 18. donati et centuriones..., maxime qui mediam aciem tenuerunt.
3. 24. 11. consulum magna...gloria fuit, quod et foris pacem peperere, et domi...minus...infesta civitas fuit.
4. 51. 8. minus praedae...fuit, quod Volsci...oppidum reliquerunt (W. reliquerant).
9. 21. 4. tutam aciem dictator habuit, quia...locum haud facilem...cepit.
10. 33. 4. impulsos semel terrore eodem, quo coeperunt (Madv. coeperant) expellunt. (But the historic present of the main verb makes *coeperunt* possible.)
25. 29. 9. ad caedem...discurrunt quosque fors obtulit, irati interfecere (P. interficere) atque omnia, quae in promptu erant, diripuerunt.
39. 28. 5. pro non dubio...legati Eumenis sumebant, quae Antiochi fuerunt, Eumenem aequius esse quam me habere.

36. 39. 10. (censebat § 6)...P. Cornelium multorum exemplo, qui in magistratu non triumphaverunt, triumphaturum esse.
43. 13. 8. omnia, uti decemviri praeierunt, facta.
5. 8. 13. pauci rei publicae...ut quosque studium...aut gratia occupaverunt, adsunt. W. reads *occupaverat*. The tense, but not the number, of *occupaverunt* might stand as a complete present.
37. 43. 8. postremos, ut quosque adepti sunt, caedunt. Here *adepti sunt* might be a complete present.
10. 44. 4. Papirium propter navatam...in proelio operam et nocte, qua fugam infestam Samnitibus fecit,...donat.
32. 26. 3. cum duos exercitus in provincia habuisset, unum retentum, quem dimitti oportebat..., alterum, quem in provinciam adduxit, totum prope annum...consumpsit.
39. 23. 9. quia iussus abscedere...erat, Romanisque oppidum deditum est, aegre eam rem tulerat.
34. 13. 1. consul, ubi satis, quod in speciem fuit, ostentatum est, revocari ex navibus milites iubet. Compare Caes. *B. G.* 1. 51. 1.

(b) Perfect for pluperfect in the principal clause and *vice versa*.

10. 12. 5. lux insequens victorem victumque ostendit; nam Etrusci... castra reliquerunt (W. desiderates *reliquerant*).
24. 43. 3. dimissique fuerant. (Ussing omits *fuerant*. Others read *fuerunt*.)

(c) (1) Pluperfect in one sentence followed by an aorist perfect in the next, or (2) *vice versa*.

For (1) cp. 2. 1. 2, 9. 22. 2 (most MSS. *posuerunt*. W. reads *posuerant*), 28. 22. 4, 21. 8. 5 (MSS. *prociderunt*. W. *prociderant*), 41. 4. 4, 38. 26. 3 (MSS. *locaverunt*. Madv. *locaverant*), 2. 19. 7, 26. 37. 2, 42. 7. 8, 9. 46. 11.

For (2) cp. 42. 51. 5, 27. 39. 13, 23. 29. 16, 4. 20. 3. (This last is really an instance of the "instantaneous pluperfect." Cp. 1. 12. 10, 2. 5. 6, 32. 12. 3, etc., and see Roby, § 1492.) At 29. 2. 5 we have an imperfect followed by a perfect *fecerunt* (but W. reads *fecerant*).

I may be allowed to add three examples of *postquam* followed by varying moods and tenses in the same sentence, viz. 4. 13. 10 quae postquam sunt audita, et (W. cum) undique primores...increparent

(compare 30. 44. 10 where *cum* is followed first by the indicative and then by the subjunctive); 6. 30. 7 *postquam...res...adferebatur et apparuit...*; 7. 2. 11 *postquam...ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur et ludus in artem paulatim verterat...* Here *paulatim* makes the pluperfect necessary, for if the time occupied by the *postquam* clause is lengthy, the aorist perfect is impossible. For Livy's varying use with *biduo quo*, etc. see W. on 3. 8. 2 and 40. 53. 1.

W. also quotes 9. 25. 5 and 37. 34. 6, in both of which passages an unexpected perfect indicative occurs (according to the MSS.) in Or. Obl. Finally at 24. 7. 2 we have *cum...profectus erat* for *profectus esset*.

It should be noted that with *quamdiu* the perfect is always used where the main verb is perfect, and that with *dum* (=all the time that) or *quoad* either perfect or imperfect is used where the main verb is perfect or pluperfect.

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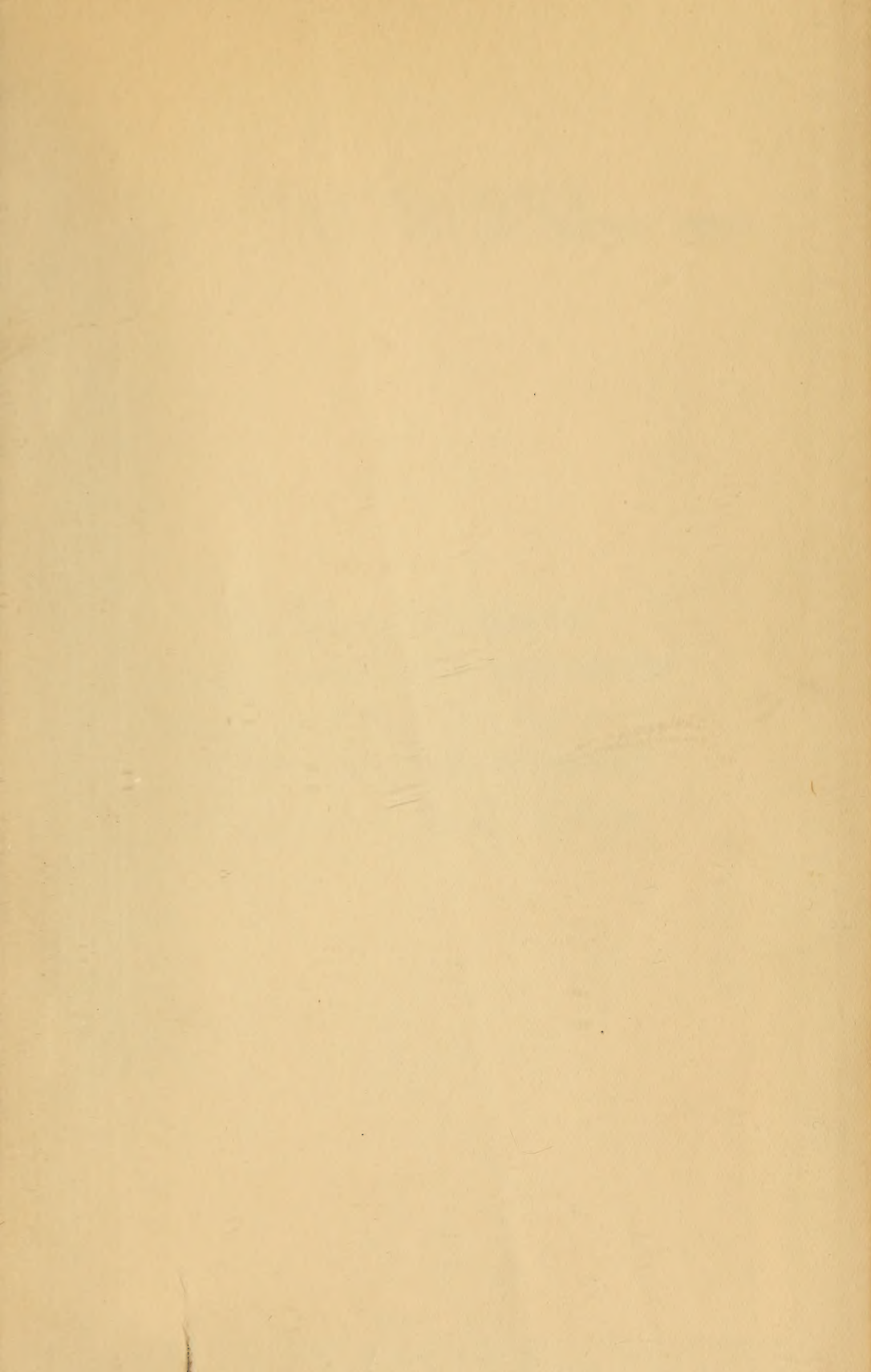


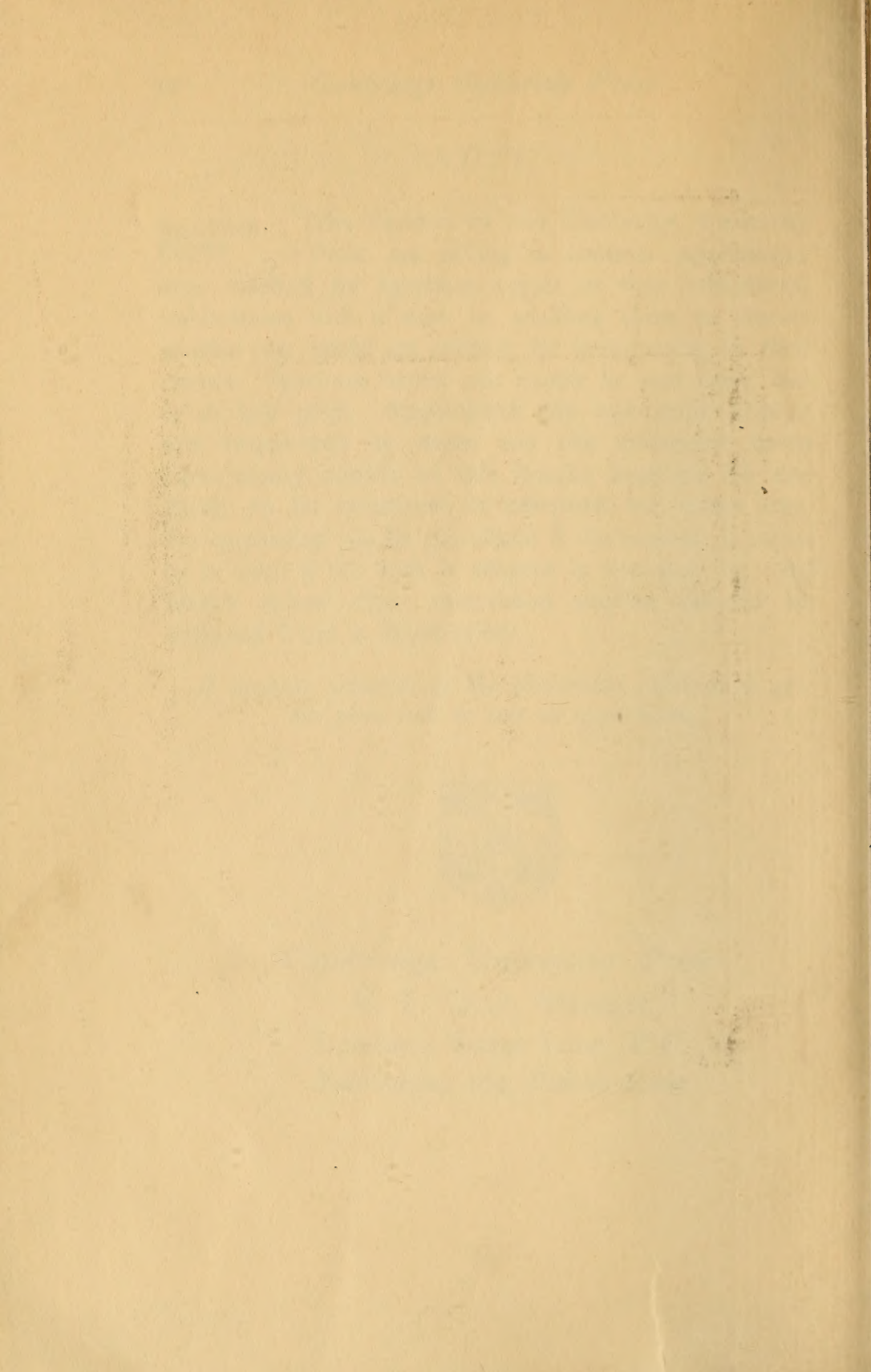
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